MARTIN LUTHER

THE PROPHET OF PROGRESS

LUTHER OSTENHOUT

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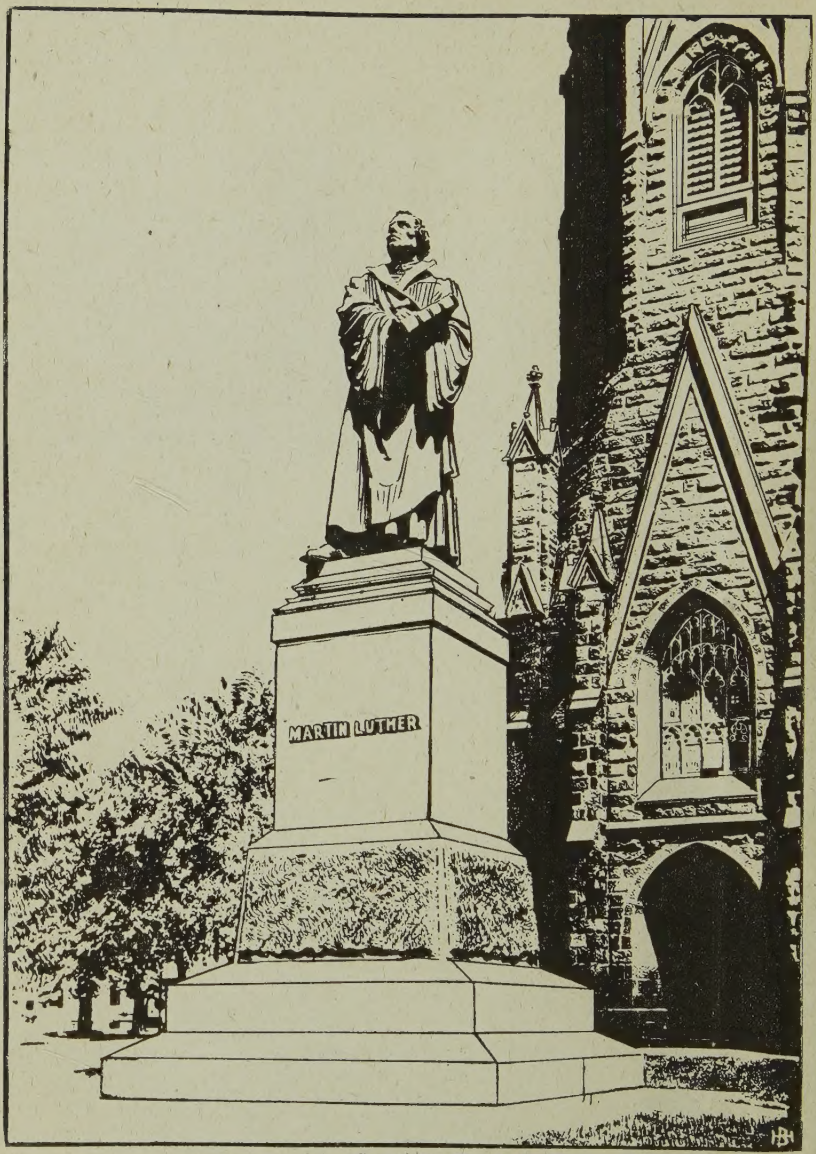

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MARTIN LUTHER

THE PROPHET OF PROGRESS

His Life, His Labors, and their Consequence

A Lesson, an Inspiration and a Warning for Progressive Americans

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Luther Ostenholz

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"A Christian man is a most free lord of all things and subject to no one; a Christian man is a most dutiful servant of all things and subject to every one."

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PREFACE

Four centuries after the great central act of his career the whole world pays its tribute of appreciation to Martin Luther. Most conspicuous is that of his enemies, who emphasize his individual greatness by their personal attacks upon the deceased.

They tell us that there are two Luthers—the Luther of romance and fiction, and the Luther of history and fact. Who doubts it? Who denies it? And what is new or unusual about the double memoirs of authentic history and uncertain tradition that cling to every prominent person of the past?

To be accurate, we must recognize the fact that there are no less than three Luthers: first, the real Luther known heretofore and now only to his Maker; second, the Luther of Protestantism regarded as a hero and prophet by enthusiastic disciples; and third, the Luther as viewed and misrepresented by his papist enemies.

Biographies are seldom impartial, and never accurate. Written either by friend or foe, by approving admirers or by hostile critics, all contain too much of the author and too little of the subject. This throws the burden of comparison, consideration, and final judgment upon the reader who may or may not be equal to the task, according to the spirit in which he attempts it.

But the public (more particularly the reading and thinking public) is the court of last resort, the jury whose decision is final so long as free to think and free

to speak, print, read, and circulate its varying opinions. This book is written for that jury—not to be accepted as infallible, but to be considered and to be accepted or rejected to the extent its contents merit acceptance or rejection.

Without pretence to literary merit, profound learning, or even to that impartiality affected by partisans, who would thereby conceal their real motive and purpose, this volume is written by one who wishes first of all to admit that he shares with Dr. Luther the conviction that the papacy is a creation of the devil, which is simply to say that the papal system is and always has been an evil tree producing fruit of its kind.

This conclusion has been reached not only by consideration of what purports to be authentic history, but more particularly by consideration of twentieth-century popery and current events affected by its present program and practice. With this frank admission concerning his own viewpoint, the author feels warranted in pointing out the bias of those priests and literary agents of popery who alone seek to discredit the dead as a means of combating the religious and political institutions which have resulted from his labors.

Papal Rome is a huge, self-perpetuating corporation which attaches to itself, its apologists and beneficiaries by such unnatural vows of poverty and celibacy as rob them of all that can be called impartiality. All they can do, or can be expected to do, in the world-wide controversy between the papacy and libertarians, is to talk, write, work, and apologize for Rome. Rome's enemies are their enemies, and Luther is their foe though his body has moldered in the grave for centuries.

Their personal hostility is perpetuated, accentuated,

and persistently expressed for the sole reason that, though long dead, Luther's soul goes marching on; and they would kill Luther's idea as their kind tried to destroy its once living author.

But the writer has tried to be fair—fair first of all to the reader who is entitled to prime consideration in the discussion of public questions and related persons; fair to the great Reformer; and fair to his critics who dislike the man because they hate his message.

Whatever may be said, thought, felt, or written concerning Luther is now of no consequence to him, so the issue lies solely between those who now agree and those who now disagree with his views, their consequences, and their tendencies.

Popery and Protestantism were never more essentially antagonistic than they are in this second decade of the twentieth century—not because of their theologies so much as because of their philosophies, their politics, and their conflicting ideals.

Popery is essentially materialistic, monarchistic, and authoritarian; Protestantism is essentially idealistic, democratic, and libertarian. The difference is too broad and inclusive to be called a religious difference though the religious difference exists. Bigger than dogmatic difference is that in which Rome conceives of its church as being above all, while enlightened Protestantism places mankind first.

We are interested in Luther because he entered the lists as a champion of human rights, and grappled with the strongest and most persistent enemy of freedom. Our interest is the greater because of the success that crowned his efforts. Our interest in Luther is renewed and intensified because his enemy is our

enemy, and his ideals our ideals, transformed by four centuries of development.

Therefore we have tried to present his life briefly as gleaned from the best available sources, and to draw from his experience and teachings, the lessons, which are applicable to our own time, country, and people. It is hoped that those lessons may inspire all who meditate upon them with desire for that self-respect, self-reliance, initiative, and efficiency which have characterized Protestant civilization; and may warn them against the corrupting influence of popery and the false ideals it cultivates.

THE AUTHOR.

February 22, 1917.

CHAPTER I

From Birth to Vocation

Martin Luther, the son of Hans and Margaret Luther, was born in the heart of Germany, at Eisleben, Saxony, on the night of November 10, 1483. Of this event, destined to change the current of human history, Carlyle says:

> There was born here, once more, a mighty man whose light was to flame as the beacon over long centuries and epochs of the world; the whole world and its history was waiting for this man. It is strange, it is great. It leads us back to another birth-hour, in a still meaner environment, eighteen hundred years ago, of which it is fit that we *say* nothing, that we think only in silence; for what words are there! The Age of Miracles past? The Age of Miracles is forever here!
>
> I will call this Luther a true great man, great in intellect, in courage, affection, and integrity, one of our most lovable and precious men. Great not as a hewn obelisk, but as an Alpine mountain, so simple, honest, spontaneous, not setting up to be great at all; there for quite another purpose than being great! Ah, yes, unsubduable granite, piercing far and wide into the heavens; yet in the clefts of it fountains, green beautiful valleys with flowers! A right spiritual hero and prophet; once more a true son of nature and fact, for whom these centuries and many that are to come yet will be thankful to heaven.

According to custom, he was baptized the next day and named Martin in honor of that saint whose feast it was. Luther's parents had moved from Mohra to Eisleben but a short time before his birth; and, when he was but a few months old, they moved again to the nearby town of Mansfield.

Both of these places were in a mining district which attracted the elder Luther because of the local prosperity due to development of rich mines and related industries. At Mansfield, Hans Luther secured

two smelting ovens belonging to the Counts of Mansfield, and in time became so successful and esteemed by his fellow townsmen as to be chosen one of the village magistrates.

It seems, however, that Hans Luther's family grew more rapidly than his wealth. The seven or more children that soon came to his humble home were a source of more anxiety than pride to parents earnestly intent upon their proper care, support, and training. Martin's mother was often reduced to the unwonted necessity of gathering fuel in the forest and carrying it home on her back.

But industry, frugality, and integrity finally triumphed. Hans became the proprietor of two furnaces and the owner of a respectable dwelling in the principal street of the village. Here the family mingled socially with their neighbors; and the honest common-sense of Luther's father made him a trusted friend of the Counts of Mansfield and a respected counsellor of the town.

The cheerful temper and wholesome humor of the mother had their important part in this hard-earned victory over adverse conditions. She was of a hopeful disposition, meeting bitter experiences with the courage that comes from looking to the brighter side. It was one of her favorite sayings, which Martin often repeated, "If the world smiles not on you and me the fault is ours."

She was sensitive and possessed of an imagination that made her the prey of many conflicting emotions, living in bondage to fancies engendered by the somber forests and cavernous hills as well as the common superstitions. She felt the spell of evil spirits, and their terror lingered long with Martin as with his mother.

The material success of the Luther's was won only by the most strenuous labor and stringent self-denial. Severe toil, the common lot of their class, coupled with seriousness of purpose, made the parents austere and exacting in every detail. Determined as they were to rear their children in the fear of God and with becoming respect for their elders, the laws of the household were severe, and rigorously enforced.

Discipline, enforced by the rod was harshly administered at home and in school; and the Luthers were the strictest of the strict. Luther says that he was once so severely chastised by his father that he fled and became alienated until followed and won back by expressions of the finer feeling that lay beneath all this severity. He also mentions his mother as an example of parents who go beyond moderation in the matter of punishment, though with the best intention. She once beat him so as to make the blood flow, for the trivial offense of taking a nut from the family store without permission.

In commenting on these experiences of his youth, in after years when he could view them calmly and in the light of wider experience, Luther declared that his parents meant well, but that they confined him so closely and treated him so harshly that he became shy and timid. It was not heartless cruelty he suffered, but an austerity resulting from crude moral earnestness that made him over-sensitive to imagined faults of his own and superlatively stern in treatment of self and others.

Luther was sent to school at a tender age, and was often carried thither in arms by a lad somewhat older. Here he was taught reading, writing, and the elements of Latin. He says that the schoolmasters in his time were tyrants and executioners, and their schools pris-

ons and hells in which little or nothing was learned despite stripes, trembling, terror, and tears. He was once beaten fifteen times in one forenoon without any fault of his own, for not being able to recite what had not been taught him. He was compelled to attend this school, where the severity of the teacher exceeded that of his parents, until he was fourteen years of age.

His father then determined to send him to a better institution. He was sent to Magdeburg to a school kept or taught by the Null Brethren, a society of priests and laymen bound together for religious and related purposes. He remained but one year at this place, and from there was sent to a school at Eisenach.

An incident is related of Luther's stay at Madgeburg that is typical of the times. The prevailing disposition, to make people miserable as a means of saving them, seems to have actuated physicians as well as parents and clergy. Luther was suffering from a raging fever and excessive thirst. This was regarded as sufficient reason to forbid his drinking water; and he endured the torment of unsatisfied thirst until one day, when left alone, he crept to the kitchen and drank a whole pitcher of water, with what delight can well be imagined. He returned to his room with great difficulty; and, exhausted, fell into a deep sleep. When he awoke the fever was gone.

The help his father could give him was not sufficient to pay Luther's expenses either at Magdeburg or at Eisenach. He helped himself at both places after the fashion of poor students by singing before the doors of the charitably inclined and receiving their donations. He and fellow students made excursions into the surrounding country for that purpose.

This practice probably yielded its most liberal in-

come during the Christmas season when the boys formed quartettes and sang hymns and carols throughout the villages and adjacent country. Luther tells that once, when he and companions were lustily singing before the door of a farmhouse, the farmer came out and in a rough, heavy, voice demanded, "Where are you boys?"

The kind-hearted farmer had two sausages for them in his hand; but they fled in alarm until he reassured them and persuaded them to return for the gift. Luther cites this as illustrating the extent to which he and fellow students were terrorized by school discipline.

It was at Eisenach that Luther's fine tenor voice attracted the attention of Madam Cotta, a lady of means and refinement, who took the lad into her home where he first came in contact with the culture and manners of polished society. In this superior school at Eisenach Luther enjoyed four years of profitable instruction; and acquired the knowledge of Latin which was the principal qualification for entrance to the universities.

Although the greater part of his education at this period was through the medium of Latin, he never forgot the forceful idioms of the language spoken by the common people; and was betrayed in maturity into frequently using its coarse, inelegant expressions when discussing religious and theological subjects.

Like our own Lincoln, he never severed the attachment that bound him by birth to the common people. And, like Lincoln, he possessed an unlimited store of proverbs and popular sayings current among the masses. These appear throughout his books, lectures, conversations, and letters; and had much to do with

his success in communicating ideas to the people so as to be understood and believed.

These four years at Eisenach were the time of Luther's intellectual awakening. When he left there, at the age of eighteen, to enter the University of Erfurt in the summer of 1501, he had made definite progress toward that higher education long planned and labored for by his devoted parents.

They had so prospered by this time as to afford the means of his support at Erfurt, which bore such a reputation that other schools of its class were regarded as but secondary and preparatory. "My dear father," says he, "in great kindness sent and supported me there, and raised the money that was needful by severe labor and anxiety."

Erfurt was a rich and populous city, "plagued with plenty" as one of its ascetic preachers complained; and Luther there came in contact with the invigorating influence of the Renaissance and its Humanist exponents of individualism. There were students and teachers from all parts of Germany, and from abroad; and, into this atmosphere of intellectual activity, Luther came with a thirst for knowedge that made for scholarship as it found satisfaction.

He began his studies at the university with a complete course in philosophy as it was then designated. This was regarded as the necessary introduction to, and basis of, all the sciences. All the varied learning, grouped under that comprehensive head, was hedged about and dominated by church dogma and the venerated writings of celebrated old church teachers.

But a new intellectual influence was being felt more and more in the western world. When, in 1453, Constantinople was captured by the victorious Turk,

the scholars and savants of Greece fled in numbers to Italy. With them they brought the Greek culture which found a welcome in Florence and other Italian centers.

Fundamental to the Greek philosophy was its proposition that the individual is paramount, and that the state is of secondary consideration, existing and acting for the benefit of persons. The Roman idea, developed in the pagan empire and persisting in the papal regime, is that the state is paramount, and that the individual lives not for himself but for the political organization.

This Roman idea persisted in western Europe to the minimizing of the individual and the magnifying of State and Church. The Greek idea now appeared as the champion of human rights and personal liberty. Grecian philosophy, poetry, and art, all emphasizing the individual, were seized upon by the intellectuals and assimilated in preference to the husks with which Rome had long tried to satisfy enquiring spirits. A revival of art and letters followed which, in fifty years, made its way northward to France, Germany and England.

For the first time in Germany, Greek was printed in Greek type at Erfurt; and, in the same year that Luther entered the university, a Greek grammar was published at the same place. The New Learning embraced not only a revival of Grecian literature, but of earlier Latin as well.

All this opened a new world to the educated and studious; and stimulated the thought of active minds long surfeited with Scholastic and monastic insipidities. Its practical and popular effect was to introduce and emphasize the idea of personal freedom and the

importance of the individual as a human being. The Humanists became the champions of human rights, while the Schoolmen of the old philosophy were champions of the prevailing theory that the individual existed, not for himself, but for the powers.

Such a revolutionary idea was slow in percolating to the level of the common people. It was first grasped by the intellectual Humanists and their leavening influence in time permeated all classes and led to the rise of republicanism and democracy.

To Luther belongs the credit of adapting the fundamental verities of the New Thought to the needs of the common people. While the Humanists welcomed it as the harbinger of intellectual freedom, and modified it to suit their own particular tastes and purposes, Luther preached it as a vitalizing religion that moved the very foundations of society and filled the popular mind with ideals as noble as they were new.

From the mass of classical material brought to Erfurt by the partisans of Humanism, Luther, the practical son of a peasant, busied himself in gleaning the pregnant expressions of human wisdom, its pictures of human life, and the essential history of nations. Some of his companions of that period have regretted that he was not more affected by the aesthetic quality of the fine arts and liberal sciences, so that his abrupt temperament and manners might have been softened by their influence.

But it was perhaps as well that he did not yield to that or any other agency of ultra-refinement which might have measurably disqualified him for the rough-and-tumble battle he was to fight. From the Renaissance the aristocratic Humanists took to themselves an external polish, while the plebeian and practical Luther

went deeper to find the kernel of democracy which he was to plant, germinate, and foster in the minds of the masses.

The New Learning stimulated discussion in its friction with the old. Continual disputation sharpened the students' wits and made them skillful in debate. Luther enjoyed this exercise, and so profited by it as to become one of the most powerful and resourceful among disputants. This predisposition to free and exhaustive discussion as a means of arriving at truth was perhaps the germ of his later demand upon Rome for a general council to discuss and pass upon the differences that had arisen between him and the champions of popery.

The very organization and operation of the great university was in sharp contrast with the papal system. In the latter the most profound questions concerning life and eternity were decided and their answers fixed by its head, the pope. Had this same method prevailed in the university there would have been no debates—certainly not among the students—but the head of the faculty would have settled all questions, and his opinions would have been accepted as final, infallible, and irreformable by teachers and under-graduates. It is thus that truth forces its way into crystallized institutions to reform them to the needs of the race. The freedom of speech, exercised at Erfurt University, was the entering wedge which was to split and reduce popery to the limited power it deserved.

Luther did not distinguish himself particularly in the test taken for the bachelor's degree. He stood thirtieth in a class of fifty-seven. Its principal significence is to indicate that his interests were too broad

and inclusive to be centered on examinations and scholastic honors. However, when he attained to the master's degree, two and a half years later, he stood second in a class of seventeen. Melanchthon says of Luther's accomplishments that "the extraordinary talents of the young man were at that time the admiration of the whole university."

It was the will of his father, and the ambition of his relatives, that he should now prepare himself for the law. The facilities for that purpose were ample at Erfurt; and his father was able to provide him with valuable legal works such as the Corpus Juris. But fate, or the tendencies of his own nature, had reserved for him a far different career. The requirements of an austere God, sitting in stern judgment, were ever in his mind. Upon him lay the necessity of making good all his mistakes and failures. He must make his peace with heaven and its angry judge who constantly threatened him with damnation.

This prevalent thought was of the greater determinative force because of his earnest nature, tender conscience, severe moral training, and the growing consciousness of self-dependence. The religious practices, to which he had been accustomed from youth, had not been interrupted. Every day began with prayer and attendance at early mass. The pathetic result of this eager devotion was a yearning for spiritual satisfaction which the practice did not and could not give.

He was struggling under such a misconception as that of the mis-managing workingman who sees misfortune at his heels and hopes to avoid it by an excess of manual labor. Luther's materialistic faith, relying upon good works, spurred him on to greater and great-

er effort in the hope of satisfying an exacting God, and thereby working his way out of his difficulties.

It was now his misfortune to go through several experiences that intensified his fear of death and its possible consequences. Previous to them, however, but while he was struggling for the longed-for peace under irritating and unsatisfying conditions, Luther found a Latin Bible in the university library. It was the first complete Bible he had seen. He observed that it contained much more than was read and explained in the churches; and he plunged into it in search of his soul's most earnest desire.

All his associates of those days agree that it was not peculiar transgressions or moral lapses on Luther's part that filled him with dread of God's wrath. His most bitter enemies, who knew him as a student at Erfurt, have not so much as hinted at anything of the kind. By self-searching and the most painstaking conformity to religious requirements he attained to nothing more than the conviction of his lost condition which inspired terror without hope unless that hope might be realized in the monastery.

The hopeless state of his mind is illustrated by the narrative of a fellow student, who says that when Luther was washing his hands he would often sorrowfully say, "The more we wash ourselves, the more unclean we become." This sensitive, delicately organized young man was, to state it plainly, the spiritual victim of Rome's horrible teaching which he had accepted in all its hideous fullness. He now plunged deeper into the gulf of despair, and went far before he found relief in that consoling scriptural passage, "The just shall live by faith," which at last broke the spell and set him free.

Several experiences, that might have contributed to this condition of moral sensitiveness, are mentioned by his biographers. At one time, while at the university, he suffered a serious sickness which directed his mind to thoughts of death and possible consequences. This naturally intensified the fears which were uppermost in his thought at all times. On another occasion he wounded the large artery of a leg with the sword he wore as was customary with students. Death seemed near as he lay alone awaiting the return of his companions who had gone after a surgeon. Again he was in conscious danger of death on the following night, when he called in terror upon the Virgin Mary to preserve his life.

Several months after he had received the degree of master, he was again profoundly agitated by the sudden death of a close friend by some unknown calamity. But the climax came when he was returning to Erfurt after a visit to his parents at Mansfield. A terrific thunderstorm arose; and a vivid flash of lightning filled his already perturbed mind with greater alarm. Totally unnerved by his distress, he fell to the ground and exclaimed, "Help me, dear St. Anna; I will become a monk."

This promise occasioned regret when he had recovered from the nerve-racking terror a few days later, but he felt a solemn obligation at the time to keep the vow so rashly made. Many advised him against taking the step; but, to his tortured spirit, it seemed to offer the only possible relief from the doubts and fears that had so long beset him and had been so alarmingly renewed by the several incidents mentioned.

He hastened to put the vow into execution lest he might weaken in purpose and miss the one opportunity

remaining. Fearing that he might repent, he made his preparations as rapidly as he could, sold his books, and, two weeks later, invited his friends to his lodgings to take a final leave of them. Here they remonstrated again, but his determination could not be shaken. He had not advised or consulted his father in regard to the matter, for it was his belief that even his father's protest could not release him from his solemn vow to the patron saint of the district. On July 17, 1505, his nearest friends accompanied him sorrowfully to the gates of the Augustinian monastery in Erfurt where he confidently expected to spend the remaining years of his life. Of this McGiffert says:

> This was the most momentous event in Luther's career Upon it hinged all that followed. It cut his life in twain. Nothing could be more extreme than the contrast between university and convent; nothing more unexpected than such a denouement for the brilliant young law-student. And yet his conduct was natural enough. One of the commonest and most normal facts in human history is the experience we call conversion, a profound crisis which overturns everything and brings to the surface what has hitherto lain dormant or unnoticed; which changes the direction of one's life, and reshapes one's career. In all ages and in all religions the experience has been familiar. Some forms of faith make more of it than others, and sometimes it occurs quite apart from all religious interest and motive. But it is essentially the same even though its outward fashion varies widely.
>
> To such an experience the young Luther was peculiarly susceptible. He was a serious-minded boy. He had been piously trained, and religion was a very real thing to him. His imagination was peopled with angels, and demons, and his life was lived in constant dependence upon the aid and protection of the saints. He was emotional by temperament, subject to fits of depression, and exposed to attacks of anxiety and dread as to his fate which at times almost drove him wild. Even as a child he was frequently distressed by his sins and terrified by the fear of eternal punishment. The harsh treatment he was early subjected to had given him a timorous conscience and made him abnormally apprehensive. * * *
>
> In the spring of 1505 the reaction after his hard study for the master's degree, his growing distaste for the legal profession, the death of a student friend, all united to make him

particularly sensitive and impressionable. The crisis came suddenly, as it often comes, and secret forebodings and half-articulate impulses in a moment crystallized into a clearly formed purpose, and the solemn vow was registered—a vow of devotion to a new career which has taken countless young Catholics into the priesthood or the monastery and countless young Protestants into the ministry or the mission field.

That, in Luther's case, it should have been the monastery was inevitable. There religion was taken most seriously, and, to one like him, nothing less would answer. For centuries it had appealed with subtle and persuasive eloquence to the finest and most sensitive spirits. If things went wrong, if the world seemed empty, as empty enough it often seems to the most gifted and eager young souls as they stand hesitating on its threshold, the call of the solitary life, the life of the spirit, invested as it was with a halo of sanctity, came with almost irresistible fascination. Resisted it might be, but all too often only at the expense of the higher visions and the finer ideals of youth. The realization of its spiritual purpose might be crude enough in current monasticism and rude indeed the awakening of many a trusting young neophyte. In Luther's day its reputation was by no means unsullied. By many a Humanist the follies and stupidities and immoralities of the monks were castigated in rollicking jest or in bitter satire. It was a current proverb: "What the devil is ashamed to do, a monk does without shame," and to a contemporary bishop was attributed the saying, "Into a monastery with him! He is worth nothing either to God or man."

But of all this Luther was little aware. In Mansfield the clergy bore an excellent reputation and were held in general respect. His father was their friend, and his mother a reverent admirer. In Magdeburg he had been under the instruction of members of a semi-monastic order, the Brethren of the Common Life, and while there was profoundly impressed by the spectacle of a prince of Anhalt, emaciated by prolonged fasting, who went through the streets in monastic garb begging for the convent and staggering under the weight of the sack he carried. The sight of him, Luther says, aroused deep reverence in the onlookers and made them ashamed of their worldly way of living. In Eisenach there was a Franciscan monastery which had received large gifts from the family of Frau Cotta. Here Martin was kindly received, and among its inmates he found benefactors and life-long friends. In Erfurt, with its Humanistic leanings, religious devotion was unbounded, and there were no fewer than eight monasteries in the city. To the young Luther, as to many of his friends, the monastic calling seemed the holiest of all, and the glamour of its sanctity was untarnished by suspicion or dislike.

Luther said later that the monastic vow was

forced upon him and wrung from him by alarm and the terror of death; but at the time it seemed to him that God had compelled him to become a monk. His choice of a cloister was better than it might have been, for the Augustinians were the most influential and respected of all the monastic orders in Germany.

When Luther informed his father of the radical change he had made so suddenly, the latter was sorely vexed. He felt that as a parent he had rights in the premises that should have been accorded greater consideration and respect. All his plans for the future of his promising lad were destroyed without regard for his will or the sacrifices the parents had made in the hope of some day seeing their Martin take a high place in the legal profession.

It is probable that the stern old man would never have consented or have become the least reconciled to Luther becoming a monk were it not that he soon after lost two sons by the plague, and was further agitated by a false report that Martin had also fallen a victim to the dreaded pestilence. He gave his consent, but reluctantly.

It now became Luther's duty to divide his time between prescribed devotions and such humble occupations as begging provisions and doing drudgery. His application for admission was not acted upon at once, but was held in abeyance for a time to determine whether the applicant was really in earnest. When finally admitted as a novice, he was yet placed upon probation for a term of at least a year.

Luther was now required to perform such services as sweeping and scouring, this humiliation affording his envious brother monks peculiar pleasure, especially when the hitherto proud young master was ordered,

with a sack upon his shoulders, to beg through the town in company with a more experienced brother.

The object of this severe discipline was to break the novice's will, and reduce him to that perfect state of humility and obedience which Rome, in all its ramifications, regards as the crowning virtue of a good Catholic. Everything enjoined upon him was to be performed without the least hesitation or resistance, and the more readily done the more it conflicted with his disposition and personal taste. All inclination to pride or self-assertion was to be overcome and totally suppressed.

But Luther did not shrink from these burdens, even when they became excessive. By paying this price he hoped to gain the peace he could not find elsewhere. It was by cheerful performance of these self-mortifying duties that he expected to earn and deserve divine favor.

Seven or eight hours of each day were set apart for prayer; which, with studies and other occupations, occupied every moment. Staupitz, the Vicar of the Order, who was destined to exercise an important influence upon the novice's life, at about this time decreed a new set of monastic regulations which inculcated diligent reading, devout hearing, and zealous study of the Scriptures. For that purpose Luther was given a Latin Bible which he studied with the greatest application in search of the satisfaction he craved.

At the end of a year's probation he was received into the Order with a solemn ceremony which included taking the threefold vow of poverty, chastity, and obedience. It was understood that by that rite he became as an innocent child that had just been baptized. Every facility for deliverance from those sins that had

so long tormented him now seemed available. The convent confessional was always open, and each monk was expected to confess every fault at least once a week.

Luther was so diligent in recalling every real and imagined shortcoming of his whole life that his confessor grew weary of hearing him; and the more his mind was directed toward the discovery of his faults, the more he found, and the more heavily they burdened his conscience. Absolutions were pronounced over him time and time again; but he could not feel assured that he had fully complied with the essential conditions, and that the absolution was really effectual.

He devoted himself to penances and prayers, fastings and vigils, beyond the rules of the cloister or commands of his confessor, and with such severity that he suffered the consequences for years. He also, so far as convent duties permitted, studied theology with diligence. With all the earnestness and sincerity which he had inherited from austere parents, and which had been drilled into his being from infancy, his whole nature and every effort were concentrated upon the absorbing question of how to escape divine condemnation and secure eternal life.

But what he read from the writings of theologians, and what he heard from his learned teachers, had but the aggravating effect of enhancing his anxiety and renewing fearful doubts. The one thought recurred repeatedly to torment him with the fear that God intended to let him fail despite prodigious works and fruitless longings, and finally to let him sink into hell. Luther was so intensely in earnest concerning his salvation that he could not rest or feel the least degree of security until the ever-present question had been fully, finally, and definitely settled.

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How literally he found hell in the very place whither he had gone in search of heaven, can be realized only, perhaps, by souls as sensitive as his which have passed through a similar experience. He was passing through the valley of the shadow of death without that rod and staff to comfort him which afterwards made him as strong as he then was weak.

For more than two years the young monk labored in pain and in vain to discover some means of earning salvation by good works, but without satisfaction or the assurance of progress. At about this time, in the third and last year of his monastic life, he was profoundly influenced by the advice and assistance of John von Staupitz, the Vicar-General of the Augustinians already mentioned.

In his frequent visits to Erfurt, Staupitz came in contact with Luther, learned and sympathized with his perplexities, and took him into his paternal confidence. In conference and by correspondence he shared Luther's problems, and the latter clung to him as an only hope in a trackless wilderness of confusion.

Von Staupitz, who had found the desired comfort in the assurance of salvation through other merits than his own, brushed away the mountain of small sins that so grieved his pupil by teaching Luther to distinguish between real and presumed offenses. He relied upon the Scriptures, and taught that repentance is an internal conversion proceeding from the love of God and righteousness, and not from resolutions or supposedly good works. He protested vigorously against looking for peace in outward works and performance of penances; but bid the distracted Luther seek it through confiding trust in the Christ who was not a harsh and unrelenting judge but a merciful Saviour who had

given himself for mankind with an affectionate invitation to accept and enjoy the proffered salvation.

Luther found in the Scriptures satisfactory confirmation of what Staupitz taught, though it took time to acquire that then uncommon viewpoint, and effect the resulting profound conversion. Staupitz constantly encouraged him, and was amazed at Luther's untiring zeal. One by one the doubts were dispelled by widening vision and deeper insight.

Luther had already entered the priesthood, and was one of the fathers entrusted with important business relating to the Order. When but twenty-five years of age, he was recognized by Staupitz as one eminently adapted to a professorship in the recently established university at Wittenberg.

That university had been founded but six years before by Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony; and the selection of its theological professors was left by the Elector to Luther's good friend. Staupitz, himself, became the first dean of its theological faculty. It was thus that Luther was called to Wittenberg not only by the wish of his friend but by the order of his superior. With the exception of a temporary recall to Erfurt, where he served as teacher for a short time, Wittenberg was to be the scene of his future work, trials, and triumphs.

This selection of Luther for so responsible a position by the Vicar-General, who had been intimately acquainted with him for years, goes far to disprove the charge so commonly made by Luther's Roman Catholic enemies that he was willful, proud, violent, despotic, unnatural and of violent temper that brooked no restraint. It is unreasonable to suppose that Staupitz, who knew Luther's nature because of long and con-

fidential relations, would have appointed one so deficient in necessary qualifications to a position where, if these charges were true, the appointee could not fail to discredit himself and his patron, and bring down upon the latter the just resentment of the Elector.

Moreover, the success of the school, largely due to the credit Luther reflected upon it, is more forceful in its complimentary tribute to Luther's character than all the fiction that priests can fabricate to the contrary. As a further mark of how the man and his services were esteemed by the Augustinian Order, he was commissioned by its Vicar to transact some special business in its behalf at Rome.

On this mission Luther went in company with an older monk in the autumn of 1511. The long journey was made on foot, food and lodging being secured in the monasteries that lined the principal routes of travel. On this journey he learned much that was surprising and disquieting. While the countries through which he travelled were more prosperous and their people had reached a higher degree of culture, he found that the nearer he came to Rome the less religion was apparent either in people or clergy.

The blunt, straightforward Saxon could not overlook the laxity of Italian monks in their slack observance of religious rules. At one of the convents, where he stopped for the night, he was so outspoken as to nearly lose his life, escaping only by the aid of a friendly porter. He found vice to be shamefully prevalent, and observed that to be "a good Christian" in Italy was to be a harmless weak-minded person such as the smart and worldly Italians, lay and clerical, held in contempt.

Luther remained in Rome four weeks negotiating

his business and inspecting the city, especially the churches and other sacred places. To his intensely religious nature it was a glorious privilege; and his delight in visiting the very center of Christendom and scene of so many sacred traditions was equalled only by his astonishment at realities discovered.

Afterwards, when thoroughly disillusioned, he was displeased with his innocent credulity. He afterwards told how he wandered through all the churches and grottoes like one of the stupid pilgrim saints, and believed every lie and baseless vulgar legend that was told him. He was so affected by the mystic atmosphere of the place as to be almost sorry that his parents were not dead so he might do something in the blessed city toward delivering them from Purgatory.

He found nothing among the priests and monks of Rome to contribute to his spiritual edification or comfort. There was admirable efficiency in the conduct of business affairs; but the religious and moral condition of the clergy and people shocked him. Immorality in high places, the indifference and near mockery with which sacred services were performed, and the vulgar infidelity expressed without shame by rulers of the church aroused his righteous indignation. Of this he said, "No one can believe the scandalous acts which are openly done unless he has seen or heard them." This, and other observations of the German monk, are confirmed by the acts and admissions of those whose conduct was so offensive to him.

He was amazed at the pomp and magnificence with which the pope appeared and paraded. Pope Julius II was then on the throne; and Rome was repeating the scandalous reports concerning the conduct of the previous pope, Alexander VI and his children. Their

fratricides, poisonings, incests, and other abominable crimes were still fresh in the minds and memories of Rome's inhabitants.

Pope Julius was a warrior and a man of the world, a bloody tyrant who maintained an efficient police in the city and kept its streets so clean as to escape the pestilence that so often swept European cities in those days; but he distinguished himself even more by waging war, hoarding money, forming political alliances and violating them at his convenience; often making the most solemn pledges only to break them.

The rebuilding of St. Peter's Cathedral was already under way, to obtain the funds for which, Tetzel, the Indulgence merchant, was soon to invade Germany and there start the conflict resulting in the Reformation. Rome's chief interest to Luther lay in the traditional martyrs said to have consecrated it with their blood. He sought their relics zealously, hoping to gain spiritual blessings by sight or touch of them.

He climbed on his knees the Scala Santa, or sacred stairs from Pilate's palace in Jerusalem, trodden by Jesus at the time of his trial. It was one of the miraculous wonders, upon which the imaginations of pilgrims were fed, that the ascent of these stairs would insure years of indulgence to the pious believer.

He made a general confession of all the sins of his past life, although he had already performed that act twice, because the act in Rome would earn far greater rewards, and said mass ten times during his stay. He was troubled with no doubts, but ran, as he said, from one holy place to another, greedily swallowing all that was told him, however improbable or absurd. No more credulous and simple-minded believer ever reveled in Rome's unlimited supply of pious fiction.

On his return to Wittenberg, in the spring of 1512, Luther passed rapidly from one academic dignity to another; and became a doctor in the same year. Besides his duty as a professor, he also performed the office of preacher; and the zeal with which he fulfilled both functions was so unusual as to attract attention and elicit praise. All his efforts as a teacher now centered in the same subject that had absorbed him as an investigator. It had been his business to discover, and it now became his business to teach, how a sinful man can stand before God and secure salvation.

The faith he had found with such infinite labor had now become part of his being. As a doctor of theology and preacher of the Gospel, it now became his duty to justify and fortify that faith by the development of a consistent theology. He was a pioneer entrusted by circumstances with the labor of clearing a path for others through an unexplored region. It was a task adapted to his taste, training, and temperament.

And yet, it did not occur to him that the work upon which he had entered could involve a break with Rome. To him it seemed that he had discovered a religious truth so precious that he must transmit it to others who must accept it because of its intrinsic value and scriptural soundness. His intention, so far as the Church of Rome was concerned, was to re-vitalize it by the restoration of a neglected teaching.

Had Luther been of different temperament, or made of softer stuff, he might have yielded step by step when Rome's opposition had been aroused; but he was of those comparatively few who, having once put their hand to the plow, never look back. He had already faced so many terrifying problems that truth,

as he found and saw it, was the only guide he dare trust. His mark in the world was now made by going straight ahead, despite all opposition, without the least deviation from the line on which he had started.

Timid souls would have shrunk back or have turned aside when outlawed by the secular power or excommunicated by Rome; but he had wrestled with that greater terror, the fear of eternal damnation, and had found The Way which he believed led to eternal safety. Having made his peace with God, and being in harmony with the eternal verities, what had he to fear from such earth-worms as the emperor of Germany or the pope of Rome? His faith was complete—a perfect faith such as moves mountains but is itself immovable.

Luther entered upon the discharge of his duties as doctor and preacher with the same intense seriousness that characterized his relation to everything else. He had tried to evade the responsibilities of the doctor's degree, and took it only in obedience to the imperative command of Staupitz who wished to retire from his professorship and make Luther his successor.

But, despite his hesitancy to accept the promotion, he was always proud of the office. As a doctor of theology he felt the duty and claimed the right to teach the truth as he found it. In later years, when his right to teach and preach new doctrines was questioned, he reminded his critics that he had not sought the rights that belonged to a doctor of theology, but had taken the degree against his will, called thereto, as he later believed, by God. Said he, "Who compelled the Lord to make me a doctor? Since He did it of His own will, let come what may."

He was almost as reluctant to become a preacher

as to become a doctor. He afterwards told how frightened he was when he saw so many heads before him, and how he was "dragged into it by the hair." Here again it required the mandate of his Vicar-General to overcome his unwillingness, and be began preaching in the refectory before the brothers.

But Luther was so pre-eminently qualified to preach that he was a success from the beginning. His earnestness begot a simplicity that made him clearly understood by the least lettered. He said, "The learned already know it all, and I do not preach for them." He made such an impression upon all who heard him as to rapidly earn a reputation and to be in demand as a supply in the city church where in 1514 he became the regular preacher.

He made like progress at this time among the Augustinians. In 1512 he was made sub-prior of their Wittenberg convent, and soon after was given full charge of theological instruction therein. Young monks came in such numbers to receive his instruction that the convent became over-crowded and was unable to accommodate all who wished to enter it. In 1515 he was appointed district Vicar of the order for a three-year term, and thereby became the superintendent of eleven monasteries. This office made him business manager of the convents and spiritual adviser of their inmates.

With all these responsibilities he still had to discharge his religious duties as a monk which required him to engage in prescribed devotions not less than seven times a day. He had much to do; but, fortunately, he had the strength, ability, and will to do it which resulted in his own growth and the development of surpassing ability. It was but natural that one who could

render such a multiplicity of service acceptably should develop a commanding personality. He dominated every circle in which he moved, and became an accepted leader. His friends, who were numerous, and his intimates, who were among the brightest and best, gradually came to recognize more and more his superior genius and capacity. The affection and loyalty of these is of far greater significance than the offense taken by some who were affected by the jealousy with which mediocrity pays its respects to genius.

Throughout these years, despite divers duties and distractions, Luther's first interest was his university teaching. There were three branches of the theological faculty: two of which gave instruction in the writings of Thomas Aquinas and Gabriel Biel, and the third, probably established through the influence of Staupitz, was devoted to instruction in the Bible. The latter branch descended from Staupitz to Luther; and the new professor interpreted his duties so strictly as to lecture upon the Bible only, when theological professors usually preferred dogmatics and Scholastic speculations.

His first exposition of the Scriptures was from the Vulgate which was the Latin version adopted by Rome; but he soon felt the need of going back to the original tongues, realizing, as he said, that "the farther from the spring the more water loses taste and strength." To that end he took up the study of Greek and Hebrew; and though he never became expert in either language, he was able to read them readily and to make extensive use of them in comparisons with the Latin version.

His tremendous energy, in acquiring a working knowledge of two languages while burdened with such

work and responsibilities, is marvellous but characteristic of the man. When the Erasmus edition of the Greek Testament appeared in 1516, Luther made it the basis of his lectures on Paul's Epistle to the Romans; but, notwithstanding this disposition to be progressive and alive to the progress of scholarship, it was the practical value of the Bible, and the lessons to be derived from it, upon which he laid the greater stress. This was a decided departure from the narrow conventions and traditional sophistries of the time; but it won approval to such an extent that his learned colleagues attended his lectures frequently, and famous scholars predicted that he would completely revolutionize the teaching of theology.

Christianity had been corrupted by its weakening adaptation to the peoples conquered by Constantine and the empire. It had been bent to the political purposes of the Christian emperors in such a way as to admit much of paganism. The Schoolmen had constructed the prevailing philosophy in an effort to reconcile these pagan elements with what remained of Christianity; and the result was a mass of doctrine incompatible with Scripture or Christian common sense.

The Renaissance and the Humanists had brought brilliant scholarship to bear on the situation; and Luther was applying that scholarship to the practical problems of the people. His peasant mind viewed religion from the point of his class, and his sturdy scholarship equipped him with the ability to interpret New Testament teaching and philosophy in a way to be understood and accepted by the masses.

His insight, derived in part from his own spiritual experience, and in part from intellectual contact with

the New Thought of the Greek-inspired Humanists, made him impatient with the speculations of the quibbling theology which was half pagan and less than half Christian. Luther believed that theology ought to be practical instead of speculative; and so, although as yet he had not come in conflict with church doctrine, his spirit was of a different order, and his development in a different direction. As one of his recent biographers says, "Speculation as such, science as an end in itself, truth for truth's sake, never appealed to him; only matters immediately bearing on life and character he felt to be worthy the attention of a serious man."

These views were sufficient to irritate the champions of the prevailing philosophy; and the vigorous ability with which Luther antagonized those traditions and authorities which he had been taught to reverence aroused their resentment and caused them to regard him as over-proud, self-conceited, and presumptuous. Such a feeling was inevitable under the circumstances. His opponents could not understand or sympathize with his views for they were not acquainted with either the man or his perspective. Consequently they reached an intellectual parting of the ways before the monk clashed with his ecclesiastical superiors.

Luther was incapable of viewing anything from the dis-attached position of an observer. He had to identify himself in everyday life with that which appealed to him. His religion was first to be lived, and whatever theorizing were done about it must conform to practical requirements. The moral life of the students and citizens of Wittenberg received his attention in preference to abstract theological theories. When invited to preach at the triennial conclave of his Order, instead of constructing a scholarly discourse on some

academic theme as was customary with those who took such opportunities to display their learning, he embraced the opportunity to preach a simple sermon on the vice of slander which was too prevalent among the monks.

His lectures, sermons, and writings abounded with criticism of the many evils that militated against the Christian life; and he held the clergy, as teachers of error, responsible for popular abuses and excesses, because they had not done their duty in preaching the true Gospel.

However, though so radical in his attack upon the evils of church and clergy, he was not at war with orthodoxy or out of possible harmony with his church. He was merely attacking abuses as many other earnest preachers were doing. But, in taking up and opposing one evil after another as he became conscious of them, he was growing steadily and naturally away from the system in which he had been born, reared, and trained.

Some higher power seemed to control his destiny and bend it to an ulterior purpose; for, though he had deliberately buried himself in a convent with the intention of retiring from contact with the world, fate had drawn him forth from the cloister to become a public figure with multiplying interests and widening outlook. Instead of losing himself in continual pursuit of spiritual satisfaction, he had attained that object and now became the leader of others in search of the same end.

But it was inevitable that Luther, following the way without deviation into which he had been drawn by experience, study, and meditation, must sooner or later reach that parting of the ways which would separate him from Rome. The course of events was to

determine when and under what conditions it was to happen. In the meantime he was unconsciously preparing for the event by attacking Indulgences as well as pilgrimages and other customs susceptible to gross abuse.

More than a year before attaching his famous Theses to the door of the Wittenberg church, Luther preached a sermon from its pulpit sharply attacking the prevailing abuse of Indulgences. On Oct. 13, 1916, the eve of this church's dedication, when the faithful would naturally avail themselves of the numerous relics it contained, Luther preached a sermon that required more of his characteristic boldness than the more widely exploited act of the following year.

Thousands of sacred relics had been collected in this church by the Elector, who was at once the patron of the church and of the university. Here, on the eve of the day when the people would naturally assemble to view these relics and secure Indulgences with the approval and encouragement of the patron Elector, Luther made bold to tell what he thought about it. As McGiffert says, "To criticize Indulgences, even in the most guarded fashion, in the castle church, on the day of all days when its stores of grace were dispensed in largest measure, was an act whose boldness was equalled only by its tactlessness. It is not strange the Elector was offended. The only cause of wonder is that he seems not to have laid it up against the preacher, for we hear of his annoyance only through a casual remark of Luther's made long afterward, and we find the critic preaching again upon the same subject from the same pulpit on another festival in February, 1517." Even now he did not question the legitimacy of Indulgences; but he attacked the abuses to which they led

with characteristic vigor. His position appears in the following excerpt:

> Concerning Indulgences, although they are the very merits of Christ and His saints, and are therefore by all means to be received with reverence, they are nevertheless made the most shameful agents of avarice. For who seeks through them the salvation of souls and not rather the contents of the purse? * * * Indulgences promote a servile righteousness, for they do nothing but teach the people to fear, to flee, to shudder at the punishment of sin instead of the sin itself, when they ought rather to be exhorted to love punishment and to embrace the cross. Would that I lied when I say Indulgences are rightly named, because to indulge is to permit, and Indulgence is impunity and permission to sin, and license to avoid the cross of Christ.

When Luther attacked Indulgences he was attacking a principal means of the church's economic support. Without them the erection of many a church, monastery, or other religious edifice would have been impossible. Even the endowments, by which such institutions were able to exist, often consisted of the Indulgences which they were privileged to grant contributors or pilgrims to their shrines.

The pernicious results that followed from the traffic were the more corrupting in effect because the buyer of an Indulgence felt that he was making amends for bad conduct by the payment of money. This may have been far from the original intention; but it became the literal practice when avaricious or ambitious ecclesiastics made use of it as a means of raising revenue. The effect was to place penance above repentance, and to create the custom of buying forgiveness of sins—even those to be committed.

Such gross abuse of the Indulgences was the natural outgrowth of the Romish idea that the sinner might earn his place in heaven by good works. From the idea of earning heavenly rewards by good work it

was but a step to buying the same with good money; for, if penance was implied in performing a labor it was equally implied in paying money which was the price and monetary equivalent of labor.

It seems that the Indulgences first came into general use at the time of the Crusades when the church granted absolution to those who would enlist to fight for the recovery of the holy sepulchre. Some, who were incapable, because of advanced age or physical condition, to serve as warriors, were granted like Indulgence because of the money or supplies they furnished toward fitting out and financing the active crusaders. This brought the cash payment custom into practice; and it was at once so convenient to rich sinners and church financiers that it remains to this day.

It is a grossly materialistic idea that mankind can attain to heavenly perfection through rites, ceremonies, or works as such; and it is because of accepting that idea that the "good works" are paid for by some instead of being performed. The theory advanced by Romish theologians, in apology for the practice, is to the effect that Indulgences affect only the temporary satisfaction required of the penitent on earth or in Purgatory; but the theory is not emphasized when the pope's collectors are eagerly canvassing the faithful for desired funds; and, in Luther's day, it was too often the belief and teaching that Indulgences would release the purchaser from all consequences of his misdeeds past, present and future.

It is a matter recorded in authentic history that the Indulgence traffic of the sixteenth century was demoralizing. Whatever may have been the theory of its inception; there was the constant temptation, on the part of popes and clergy, to use it for the realiza-

tion of revenue; and on the part of the purchasers, to substitute the mere payment of money for true penitence and reform. And the temptation was the more intense since the personal interest of both parties to the transaction was so strong as to warp judgment and seek justification for its employment.

Roman Catholics are indignant when one so much as intimates that Indulgences are sold at the present time. Some are candid enough to admit that the traffic of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries deserves condemnation; but insist that selling Indulgences for money was long ago prohibited and is since unknown. These emphatic declarations are amusing to the informed observer. One instance will suffice to show how the practice continues to the present day, though accomplished in a roundabout way.

"St. Vincent's Visitor," an annual published at Brooklyn, N. Y., calls itself the "official messenger of St. Vincent's Union." Its issue for 1917 contains what purports to be a "Plenary Indulgence, pardon and remission of all their sins, to each and every benefactor of the St. Vincent's Home," granted and renewed by Pope Pius X.

This paper states specifically that all members of St. Vincent's Union are benefactors of the home, and therefore get the benefit of the Indulgence mentioned; but the regular specified dues must be paid as a condition to membership. If this is not a papal endowment of Indulgences to be gained by the payment of money, it is too much like it to be anything else. It certainly has the effect of stimulating membership and other benefactions which involve the payment of money. The selling institution gets the revenue and the buyer gets whatever benefit he can realize from

the Indulgence; and thus the sale of Indulgences by Pope Leo in the sixteenth century to get money to build St. Peter's Cathedral at Rome is paralleled, though on a smaller scale, of course, by the sale of Indulgences granted by Pope Pius in the twentieth century for the maintenance of a Roman Catholic institution in Brooklyn.

These facts remind us that although the mighty movement, which had its founder and chief moving spirit in Martin Luther, has released millions from the influence of Rome and its shameful abuse of authority, it has not yet finished the work begun so long ago. Proudly declaring that it never changes, the same authority, discredited and repudiated where it once held undisputed sway, is seeking to re-establish itself in North America where it is less known by contact and consequently enjoys undeserved toleration.

Here is a mighty nation consecrated to the principle that all men are created equal; whose government declares that its powers are derived from the consent of those it governs; and which seeks to promote life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness through granting the largest practicable freedom to every individual. Its success has demonstrated the wisdom of its liberal government and the value of its free institutions, chief among which is its system of state-controlled non-sectarian schools available to both rich and poor, and its broad policy of separating Church and State so that neither may be dependent upon the other.

In this country, as constituted and successfully maintained through decades of progressive prosperity, men of all nations, colors, faiths, and previous condition find a common home where each may think, believe, and worship in his own way totally free from

preference or persecution. And all are content with the freedom they enjoy with the exception of the priestly agents of the same power which Luther attacked in Germany for Germany's freedom.

Jews, Greeks, Turks, and even Asiatics from the far Orient are content to enter into the American spirit when they choose to make America their home; and do their part toward the building of the social structure according to the foundations already laid. The Roman Catholic cult alone, and that chiefly by its clerical agents of the Italian pope, is dissatisfied with our civilization, and would change its very foundations.

Romish teaching essentially denies the proposition that all men are created equal. It maintains that its pope is vested with divine authority to decide what is good and what is bad; and that monarch, through his local agents, chooses to condemn as bad many of the institutions to which Americans are most attached because of beneficent experience. Romish teaching maintains that the pope is superior to all persons and to all authorities; and that his privileged agents, cardinals, bishops, and clergy, are likewise superior to, and are vested with rights superior to, less pretentious human beings.

Romish teaching also denies the American proposition that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, declaring that inasmuch as all authority is from God, and that inasmuch as the pope "stands in the place of God Almighty on this earth," then all authority on this earth must be derived from and through the pope or some of his accredited creatures. It follows that papal law, or the canon law of Rome commands the first obedience of Roman Catholics no matter how seriously it may con-

flict with the law of the land. They must support the pope's parish schools in preference to the common schools provided by the State; and they must support those efforts of their ecclesiastical superiors who try to identify Roman Catholic religion and institutions with the State while keeping them under papal control.

In short, the pope of Rome is moving in a most ingenious way to establish his authority in the United States as it once was in Germany, France, Italy, and England, before Luther and like reformers led the people, in righteous rebellion, to overthrow popery and its oppressive sway. The Reformation in Luther's time was not wholly a matter of religion, though the religious element seems to have predominated. In fact, it was one phase of the broader movement by which mankind progresses from greater error to less error and from less freedom to greater freedom.

The French Revolution and the Revolution of the American colonies are more closely related to the German Reformation than those who are unfamiliar with history suspect. But the transformation of a subject race to a self-governing people is a work so great that many centuries must be required for its consummation. The Reformation is not complete. We are in the midst of it; and no nation so dangerously so as the United States of America.

Rome is naturally allied to every privilege and interest which opposes the enlargement of personal freedom. Rome is the leader of all those reactionary forces which profit from autocratic privilege and therefore antagonize whatever makes for equal rights of human beings. Rome is the leading power, and its pope the leading person, in opposition to democracy, republicanism, and popular government.

It is not so much the papal religion that is to be opposed, for Rome's religion is merely a means to a larger end, but the false philosophy of life that underlies the papal scheme with its political and commercial activities. Popecraft and kingcraft are essentially the same; but, while the one can get no sympathy in this country, the other enjoys favor through its religious profession.

Our public schools are denounced as "Godless" when the real reason for their condemnation by Rome lies in the fact that they are controlled by the people--that they inculcate the desire for self government instead of desire for papal government. It is not because they are Godless, for they are not; but because they are popeless and priestless that Rome condemns and does all it can in opposition to the public schools.

It is thus that Romanism and Americanism come in conflict today just as Rome and German people clashed in the sixteenth century. The question then hinged on papal authority just as it does today. It was not because Luther was a bad man that he was cursed and excommunicated, but because he would not obey the pope. It is not because our schools are harmful that they are condemned, but because they are free from papal control. Consider all those institutions and societies, esteemed by Americans and yet anathematized by Rome, and you will find that the real reason for their condemnation lies in the fact that they are beyond the possibility of Romish rule or manipulation.

For instance, the Freemasons, Knights of Pythias, and Independent Order of Oddfellows are prospering under papal ban. The reason for their condemnation, as given by Rome, is that they are secret. And yet Rome approves its own equally secret orders such as

the Ancient Order of Hibernians and Knights of Columbus.

The monster with which Luther grappled like a true knight is the very antithesis of liberality. It knows no toleration and makes no concessions unless, in inferior power, it does so through expediency or compulsion. No wonder Luther, exasperated, when he had ample opportunity to learn the true nature of the papacy, declared it to be the creature and offspring of the devil.

Whatever we may think of popery's parentage, we must learn in self defense its fundamental antagonism to our civilization, government, and national ideals. It behooves the American people to remain free from the oppressive monarchy which controlled the world in the noontide of its power contemporaneously with the world's darkest moral midnight.

CHAPTER II

The Struggle

When Leo X ascended the papal throne in 1513, his enthusiasm was expressed in the following language: "Let us enjoy the papacy since God has given it to us." His exalted office and almost unlimited power was, to him, an opportunity to gratify his personal tastes and inclinations.

Fortunately those tastes and inclinations were mightily affected by the Renaissance, that mighty revival of art and letters, brought about by the immigration of Greek philosophers who fled from Constantinople on its capture by the Turks. Rome's religion was dead, but its art was revived; and Leo was more consistent as a disciple of that art than as a spiritual leader of Christendom.

Even as fate had moved in a mysterious way to assign Luther's life work and prepare him for it, it also had Leo's work ready for his hand and gave that hand the cunning needed for its execution. We have noted how the rebuilding of St. Peter's Cathedral was under way while Julius II was pope. The continuation of this great architectural work now fell to Leo, who no doubt found greater enjoyment in that task than he could in the needed reformation of his church and its dissolute clergy.

As Kostlin says: "Leo was just the man, as far the times were favorable, to revive the various arts, to draw from obscurity the science of the ancients, and

thereby to open to the cultivated, elevated classes of society, a rich source of intellectual enjoyment. But whilst he displayed a commendable zeal in such aesthetic labors, and had a fine taste for the productions of the pencil and the chisel, the care of the church and the internal wants of the flock, which he promised in Christ's stead to feed, were altogether foreign to him. The morally frivolous tone which characterized the papal chair was regarded as a constituent element of the new era of refinement. With respect to Christian faith, Leo is said to have uttered a blasphemous expression relative to the lucrative character of 'this fable about Christ.' He felt no scruple whatever in employing the most ungodly and soul-destroying means in gathering money for the erection of this house of God, which, as he said, would protect and glorify the bones of the holy apostles. At the same time, the popes were accustomed shamelessly to divert to their own private treasuries a large portion of the Indulgence money which was received for other objects, as for example, to carry on the war against the Turks."

For the completion of St. Peter's church, Leo required large sums of money; and he now decided to raise the needed funds by the customary means of selling Indulgences. For a large portion of Germany, this trade in Indulgences was given in commission by the pope to his Archbishop Albert who stood at the head of the two great church provinces of Mainz and Magdeburg. Wittenberg, the home of Luther, was in the Magdeburg diocese.

This Albert was the brother of the Elector of Brandenburg, and was more interested in secular affairs than in religion or theology. The New Learning had affected him as it had Pope Leo; and he was more

ambitious to pose as a patron of the arts, and to maintain a magnificent court, than to perform the legitimate functions of his ecclesiastical office. Yet more like Leo, he found an impediment to this ambition in his lack of wealth. He had already been compelled to borrow 30,000 guilders from the Fuggers, who were bankers in Augsburg, to pay the pope for the pallium which was the official badge of his archiepiscopal dignity.

To satisfy his creditors, who probably had more or less to do with the arrangement, he succeeded in securing this profitable local agency for the Indulgence traffic. One provision of the contract was that he was to keep one-half of the income to use in paying the Fuggers what they had advanced. The three-cornered nature of the deal is further indicated by the fact that agents of the Fuggers accompanied the Indulgence preachers to collect and account for the money.

Albert appointed John Tetzel, a Dominican monk, as his sub-commissioner; and the traffic began. These commissioners moved about the country with solemn pomp. When entering a town or village they were met by a procession of priests, monks, magistrates, schoolmaster and pupils, men, women, and children, with singing, ringing of bells, and bearing of banners and lighted candles. The commissioner was conducted into the church with great solemnity.

In the middle of the church a large cross was reared, on which was hung a silken banner bearing the papal arms. Before this stood an iron chest to receive the money. By means of sermons, hymns, processions, and other performances, the people were urged and induced to avail themselves of what they were made to believe was an invaluable and incomparable privilege.

In exchange for his money the purchaser received from the commissioner a Letter of Indulgence which absolved the sinner from his sins according to its stipulations.

Specimens of Tetzel's sermons have been preserved. They consist first of a proclamation that all sinners, and particularly the greatest, such as murderers and robbers, had here the opportunity to purchase the forgiveness provided for them by holy church; also that parents and relatives in Purgatory, suffering cruel tortures, might be freed by a small gift. The remainder of the discourse was hortatory and persuasive, calculated to agitate the feelings and get the coin.

All who criticised, or in any way opposed the Indulgence traffic, either openly or secretly, even those who dared to murmur against it, were informed that, according to the papal edict, they had by their own act subjected themselves to excommunication. It so happened that some of those who could recall no sins requiring Indulgence were finally brought to payment by repentant recollection of some impulsive speech or thought against the Indulgence itself.

So complete was the power, and so fixed was the authority of Rome, that none dared speak a word openly against this abominable nuisance from which the pope and his archbishop derived a large revenue. The insults and curses of the Indulgence preacher, which such a one would incur, were but the prelude of greater calamities.

In his triumphant progress, Tetzel approached the frontiers of the Saxon Electorate and the vicinity of Wittenberg. To prevent the financial drain upon his territory, the powerful Elector would not permit Tetzel

to enter it. Tetzel, therefore, barred from Wittenberg, set up his traffic at a neighboring village called Juterbock; and some of the people who confessed to Luther were there induced to buy Indulgences.

Luther had already warned his hearers against this practice of attempting to escape sin by payment of money; but was deterred from a more vigorous attack upon the prevailing custom by numerous considerations. But the more he thought about it, and the more it was forced upon his attention by the proximity of Tetzel and the effect upon his own parishioners, the greater grew the conviction that it was a thing to be denounced and opposed in the interest of true repentance and religion.

He went about this attack in a way conformable to the customs of the time and of his calling. No appeal as yet was made to the people. Availing himself of the privilege that belonged to him because he was a doctor of theology, Luther prepared his Ninety-five Theses in Latin and affixed them to the door of the Wittenberg church on the evening of Oct. 31, 1517. This document was entitled "A Disputation on the Power of Indulgences."

It was in entire accordance with the custom of the times that at the celebration of a great festival, when crowds of people were assembled, a university discussion should take place, and that a church door should be used for posting the advertisement. The Theses were posted on Hallowe'en, the evening preceding All Saint's Day which was also at Wittenberg the anniversary of the consecration of the castle church.

At the same time he sent a letter, with a copy of the Theses, to Archbishop Albert imploring him to check the offensive, ruinous discourses in which his

emissaries lauded Indulgences. In the sermon, preached by him in celebration of the next day's festival, he told his hearers that the Indulgence released them only from penalties imposed by the church, and warned them against any further dependence upon it, or against neglecting the genuine repentance necessary to salvation and relief from the consequences of sin.

It is a remarkable fact that the propositions maintained in these theses, and even the main contention against the power of Indulgences, were but mild statements of principles that had already been maintained by numerous individual theologians. Some of his predecessors had attacked the whole Indulgence system more sharply and vigorously than Luther did in this particular document.

But the theses created a sensation that far exceeded Luther's expectations. In two weeks they had reached every corner of Germany, and were circulated in the German language as well as in Latin. Their message fell into deep and productive soil already prepared by the dissatisfaction which the shameless traffic had extensively excited. He had tied the bell to the cat, and all Germany sat up to listen.

Tetzel, now notorious because of his business and noisy harangues, enlisted the aid of theologians and brought out two sets of theses in rebuttal of Luther's propositions. To make this possible the University of Frankfort made Tetzel a doctor of theology. The Dominican monks rallied to him, and he was clever enough to slur over the real points at issue and base his argument on the finality of papal authority. This was a question Luther had not raised, but its injection into the controversy was inevitable.

"Christians," said Tetzel, "must be taught that

the judgment of the pope, in matters pertaining to the faith and what is necessary to the salvation of men, is without question infallible, and that all observances referring to matters of faith, which the papal chair has sanctioned, are part and parcel of Catholic truth even if they are not found in the Holy Scriptures."

This sweeping declaration, raised centuries afterward to the dignity of a conciliar decree, is far more mischievous than all the evils of the Indulgence. Its immediate effect was to challenge Luther's attention and start the train of reasoning which was to convince him that the papacy itself is the father of a thousand errors.

Tetzel also invented and first offered in that disputation the idea, still so common among priests and papists, that if the authority of the church and pope be not recognized as final, everyone will believe whatever he may find in the Scriptures that is agreeable to him, and thus all Christians will be exposed to imminent danger of error.

Other theologians took up the defense of Indulgences, making the authority of the pope the salient point. They all declared Luther a heretic, and some of them demanded his punishment by fire. They all no doubt believed that when the argument reached the point at which Luther must acknowledge or repudiate papal authority, he would be put to confusion and be forced to recant. But they had no conception of the man they were dealing with, and little knew how he was prepared to follow his principles to their logical conclusion no matter what the consequence.

Perhaps the most formidable of Luther's opponents was John Eck, a professor in the University of Ingolstadt. His learning and talents were of a high

order, especially so in comparison with such a clown as Tetzel. Added to this was an intellectual pride that made him ambitious to display his accomplishments and to stand well with the aristocratic Humanists. To Luther's surprise Eck published a critical reply to his Theses which was offensive in tone and superficial in its dealing with their propositions.

It had been the object of other opponents to show that Luther antagonized papal authority. Eck's object was to identify Luther with Huss and his Bohemian heresy. How characteristic of Rome's apologists are all these replies to Luther's challenge. Each and all of them are more intent on discrediting and destroying the man by the generation of prejudice against him than by any direct and consistent discussion of the principles he offers for debate.

All this could not fail to be alarming to the monk who had been suddenly thrust into such prominence. Like anyone in such an unexpected turn of affairs, he was fully conscious of his unpreparedness to stand single-handed and combat such odds. The reputation he had acquired was far from pleasing; for, while, in places, the people glorified the boldness of the stand he had taken, there was an ominous silence among the doctors and bishops made more threatening by the few who spoke only to denounce him.

But, so far as his convictions were concerned, he was the more confident of their correctness because of his antagonists' inability to meet his quotations from the Scriptures with any contradictory authority from the same source. Unable to make the desired impression with those to whom his Theses had been addressed, he now turned his attention to the German people by issuing sermons in the vernacular. While teaching in

the university, and preaching in his Wittenberg pulpit, he employed his pen in the composition of small books and tracts to maintain his position and make it clear to those unfamiliar with his principles and their related lines of thought.

His enemies were so embittered against him that, when it became his duty to visit a convent of his Order at Heidelberg, it was feared that he would be waylaid upon the journey. The appeal of Eck and others to the prevailing fanaticism had the intended effect; but it had no influence upon Luther, who did not hesitate for a moment to proceed with the discharge of his duty.

The Elector Frederick, who chose to keep aloof from Luther in the raging conflict, was nevertheless grateful to him for his assistance in ridding his territories of Tetzel and now showed his interest in his welfare by writing a letter to Staupitz desiring that care be taken for Luther's safety and speedy return. He also gave Luther recommendations to bishops and prominent persons at places he would visit on his journey.

Contrary to expectations, his journey and the business connected with it were accomplished with satisfaction to all parties and in such a way as to contribute to his reputation and influence. On his return he finished extensive Latin interpretations of the Theses which he entitled "Resolutions" and which comprise the largest and most important work issued by him during this period of the controversy.

It was a time for the consolidation of his ideas and the laying of a foundation for the great work to come by pioneer thought and original investigation of the many questions that arose within himself or were

presented by his critics. The result was a widening of the breach and a correspondingly enlarged increase in its defenses.

It was still his desire to avoid any act that would separate him from Rome, and it was his wish to remain submissive and obedient to the pope. In the Ninety-five Theses he had endeavored to show that his view of Indulgences was that of the pope himself. Long afterwards he declared that at this time he cherished the confidence that the pope would be his patron and friend in the controversy with the shameless traffickers in Indulgences.

It was in this spirit, and in this mental attitude, that he dedicated his "Resolutions" to Pope Leo. In the letter accompanying them he says how shocked he is at the charges of heresy and apostacy which had been brought against him, that he would prefer silence so far as he was concerned, and hoped that his present declarations might go out under the patronage of the pope himself. However, he makes it clear that he cannot and will not retract.

Leo, to whom all this appeared to be but a squabble over matters unworthy of his notice, was at first inclined to give it but slight attention; but, when it threatened danger, was solely concerned about allaying the excitement and rendering this unruly monk of a despised race harmless. He is recorded as saying about this time that "Brother Martin is a man of fine talents; this controversy is nothing but a quarrel of envious monks," and "A drunken German wrote the Theses; he will be of a different mind when he gets sober."

This theory in regard to its being the result of monkish envy was probably based on the fact that

Tetzel was a Dominican whereas Luther was an Augustinian; and the reference to "a drunken German" was a trite expression of the contempt commonly uttered in Rome concerning a people whose virtues were too simple and unpretentious to be appreciated by their elegant ecclesiastical exploiters.

Leo had, but three months after the appearance of the Theses, issued an order to the Vice-General of the Augustinians "to soothe and appease that man." It is therefore evident that Leo, as well as Luther, had but a faint idea of what was involved, or what must be the outcome, of what at first seemed to be a very small disagreement.

Later, a court of heresy was established at Rome for the consideration of Luther's case; and he was ordered to appear before that court within sixty days. Had he complied with this order, it is practically certain that he would never have returned. At the same time the now aroused pope was exerting his influence upon the Elector Frederick and upon the Emperor Maximilian through his legate Cajetan.

Luther's supporters were likewise busy. The University of Wittenberg stood by him and demanded that if subjected to trial his hearing should be in Germany. Luther also appealed from Rome to his own country; and the pope was enraged. Before the term of sixty days had expired, Leo demanded of the Elector that "this child of iniquity" who prided himself upon the Elector's protection, should be delivered to the pope's legate for removal to Rome. At the same time Cajetan and others were ordered to capture Luther and his adherents without delay; and to see that every place which gave him comfort was put under interdict.

It is interesting to note this rapid development

of what was at first regarded as a mere "squabble" and what was originally but a demand for a most reasonable reform which might have been granted with comparatively little discomfort and with a really beneficent effect upon the whole Romish organization. There was a progressive mobilizing of forces on both sides; a mighty alignment of individual and group interests that was to become permanent to the weakening and discomfiture of the great Romish monopoly.

To the deep questions concerning the plan of salvation, which Luther had contributed to the controversy, were now added the many abuses and encroachments and acts of violence which the German people had suffered. There was a general and widening reaction against papal tyranny that found in Luther's cause a rallying point for all the disaffected. German princes and German States, which could not be silenced by theories, dogmas, and anathemas, saw with varying definiteness that Luther's cause was measurably their cause. Rome had chosen to rest its case on the question of papal authority; and Germany gradually awakened to a realization of the fact that this same papal authority was the real evil beneath all the objects of their bitter complaints and emphatic protests.

Rome's rule of Germany was the real fundamental grievance which had been resented to some degree by all classes, but seemed to be firmly fixed by the influence popery exercised over every mind. From this root of a million evils came Rome's arrogant determination to impose its will upon the German people without limit. Rome would tax them, and insult them, and force its theology upon them. Rome would tell them what to think, feel, do, believe, and accept. And if any dare complain of Rome's doctrines, or Rome's

shameless traffic in Indulgences, or Rome's habitually insolent attitude toward them, there was but one answer—the pope's authority.

While all, like Luther, were at first indisposed to question that authority; yet, down deep in the consciousness of the whole nation the idea was germinating that popery was at the bottom of all the oppressions and errors that it forced upon them without reason or justice but by exercise of its irresponsible power. The financial interests were alarmed at the great and increasing flow of money out of Germany and into Rome. German princes and politicians were annoyed and irritated by the interference of ecclesiastical politics.

Rome claimed in theory, not only the right to say how sinners shall be saved, but the political right of determining the affairs of States, and the financial right of taxing their people by means of the Indulgence traffic and such other methods as the popes might adopt. And Rome's practice so closely approximated to its theory as to antagonize and irritate many interests and classes of people.

So now, the people, drawn together by community of interest, and threatened by a common enemy, naturally turned to Luther as a leader through whom all might sooner or later realize some degree of the relief desired.

In the summer of 1518 a Diet convened at Augsburg to which the pope had sent a legate. It was the pope's desire to levy a heavy tax throughout Germany on the pretense that it was to be used in making war on the Turks. The Emperor Maximilian supported the pope in this matter as a concession by which he hoped to gain certain papal favors. But the demand for this tax was unfavorably received by the Diet. The long-

repressed opposition to this sort of thing finally broke out.

An anonymous pamphlet appeared which declared that this was another of avaricious Rome's schemes to cheat the "drunken Germans"; and averred that the Turks for whom this money was to be collected were to be found in Italy rather than in Turkey. The Diet embraced the opportunity to formulate a long list of old grievances against papal cupidity; the proposed tax was rejected; and a memorial of protest against the lying, thieving, and avarice of papal agents was publicly read which was so vigorous that when Luther saw it he believed it to be a feigned document uttered by papal interests for some ulterior purpose.

With the princes and people in this attitude, Cajetan wisely refrained from adding fuel to the flames by attempting Luther's arrest. Moreover, the Elector Frederick, whose favor was eagerly desired by Rome, was so interested in Luther's safety as to visit Cajetan in pursuance of that object. A new emperor was soon to be elected; and the pope hoped to secure the powerful support of the Elector for his choice. This combination of interests and circumstances is probably all that saved Luther at the time and in his visit to Cajetan at Augsburg.

There he was beyond the jurisdictional protection of Frederick, and within the grasp of the papal legate before whom he had been arraigned as a heretic. His friends had reason for misgivings, and Luther afterwards wrote: "My thoughts on the way were these—Now I must die, and often I said: O, what a disgrace I will be to my dear parents."

But Luther found friends, even so far from home as Augsburg, and even under such unpropitious cir-

cumstances. These instructed him in regard to the necessary forms to be observed in his meeting with the mighty Cajetan, and advised him to deport himself carefully.

Information of his arrival was promptly transmitted to the legate, who desired to receive him at once. Luther's friends warily detained him, however, until they had obtained a certificate for his safety from the Emperor who was hunting in the vicinity. In the meantime an emissary of Cajetan's urged Luther to appear and comply with Rome's demands. Aware that Luther was awaiting a safe conduct from the Emperor, he asked him in a jocular and tantalizing way whether he thought the Emperor would risk his domain to secure a rebellious monk's safety. Luther replied that he did not wish the Emperor to do so. "Where will you stay, then, if unprotected by the Emperor as well as outlawed by Rome," continued the brutal questioner. "Under the Heavens" was Luther's brave and characteristic reply.

Writing to his friend, Melanchthon, Luther said: "There is no news here except that the town is full of talk concerning me, and everybody wants to see the man who, like a second Erostratus, has kindled such a flame. Continue to be the man you have been and instruct your pupils faithfully. I go and will be sacrificed for them and for you when it pleases God. For I will rather die, and, what is the hardest, forever forego the privilege of a pleasant return to you, than to retract what I am convinced is true."

Upon receipt of the certificate of safety, Luther made his appearance before Cajetan. As instructed, he fell upon his face before the pope's representative, arose deferentially when commanded, and stood with

respectful submissiveness. The clever courtier now addressed him with a kindly politeness such as Luther was unaccustomed to find in his opponents. He demanded, however, that, without any further consideration, he should retract his errors and promise to abstain from everything that might disturb the church.

In the conversation that followed, Cajetan insisted in the most emphatic terms that the papal authority was superior to council, church, and Scriptures; and declined from the first to enter into any extended discussion, though he did prolong the conversation probably beyond the limits of his original intention. As Luther has expressed it, he employed only simple, pure, and unbending force. Luther's only recourse was to secure time for further deliberation.

Further advised by his Augsburg friends, and by his old friend Staupitz, who had but just arrived, and accompanied by the latter, he entered the legate's presence on the following day and delivered a carefully prepared protestation in which he stated that he could not retract without being convinced of error; that he was constrained to regard everything he had said as being true and Catholic; but that, inasmuch as he was a fallible human being, he would submit to the legitimate decision of the Church. To arrive at that decision, he proposed to defend his statements publicly, and was prepared to hear, concerning them, the opinions of the doctors of Basel, Freiburg, Leyden, and Paris. This proposal was rejected, but permission was given Luther to submit in writing a further answer to the chief points previously emphasized.

When this document was delivered, the two became engaged in a lively discussion; but Cajetan brought it to an abrupt close by the demand to recant

and with the threat of excommunication and interdiction. Luther was dismissed with the ultimatum: "Recant or else never again come into my presence."

Inflexible as the legate was in his demands upon Luther while conversing with him, Cajetan yet sought to persuade him through his friends; but Luther again declared that he would not yield in a letter written to Spalatin who was with the Elector. In this letter he acknowledged the mildness of Cajetan's manner toward both himself and Staupitz; but declared that neither of them would trust him, and that although he might be a famous disciple of Thomas Aquinas, he was not clear and was therefore no more competent to pass judgment on these questions than an ass would be to make music on a harp.

However, he evidently thought that his days as a Wittenberg preacher and professor were numbered, for he expected to go elsewhere and into exile; and his friends were thinking seriously of taking him to Paris where the university still denied the universal power of the papacy. Nevertheless he declared that he would not become a heretic by recanting that through which he had become a Christian, rather than do which he would prefer burning, exile, and execration.

He now drafted an appeal "from the pope poorly informed to the pope better to be informed" and deposited it with a notary. His friend Staupitz and others, cautious for their own safety, left Augsburg, the former first releasing Luther from his monastic vow, as some suggest, to relieve himself and order from so troublesome a monk. Luther remained and even sent a letter to Cajetan in which he made all the concessions that he felt were possible with the acknowledgement that he had been too violent. None of his

communications to the legate being productive of results, he made the appeal but yet waited several days.

When his friends began to fear that plans for his apprehension had been made, they smuggled him out of the city at night and he rode without weapons to Manheim and thence to Wittenberg. Cajetan followed Luther with a letter to the Elector Frederick in which he urged that Luther be sent to Rome or at least expelled from the Elector's dominion.

Frederick took four weeks to make reply which showed him to be very much in harmony with the position taken by Luther. With a studied calmness that must have been exasperating to the legate he said that he had not expected that Luther would be called upon to recant before the affair had been adequately investigated. He mentioned the fact that many men of learning at the universities had not as yet been able to decide that Luther's teachings were un-Christian; and that, though people whose personal and financial interests had suffered because of those teachings, had become his enemies, he believed that the opinion of several universities should be obtained and Luther be permitted to hold a disputation for the defense of his doctrines at some secure place.

The Elector showed him the legate's letter; and Luther declared his willingness to go into banishment but not into silence. He published an account of his conference with Cajetan, with a defense of his position containing views concerning the papacy which were yet more radical and aggressive in their denial of papal authority.

Not waiting for the answer expected from Rome, which he was satisfied would be adverse, he drew up a document in which he appealed from the pope to a

general council to be convoked. It was at about this time that Luther realized the impossibility of reconciliation; and that he had entered upon a disputation worthy of his best efforts. He quit considering possible flight and prepared for the war that he now saw was imminent. It was then that he expressed the opinion to his friend Link that the Antichrist spoken of by Paul in Thessalonians might be reigning in the court of Rome, and said, "According to my opinion this affair has not yet really commenced, instead of these great lords in Rome already hoping for the conclusion."

To another correspondent he declared, "The more they foam and threaten violence, the less I am frightened, and I will become all the bolder against the Roman serpents. I hold myself in readiness for everything, and wait for God's guidance." It was really a most dangerous and trying situation. His friends formulated various plans for his safety including flight to Paris; confinement under a defending guard by the Elector, and minor expedients. It was supposed that the pope's anathema would soon arrive, and that Luther could not possibly remain longer in Wittenberg.

Luther's new danger from Rome appeared first in the person of the papal chamberlain, Karl von Miltitz. He had been sent to Germany to remove the protection granted Luther by his sovereigns so the offending heretic might be imprisoned or cited to Rome for trial. Miltitz was himself a Saxon and in friendly relation with the Elector's court.

Of course the Elector Frederick was the object of this diplomacy since it was the protection granted by him that prevented the ecclesiastical authorities from doing with Luther as they pleased. Frederick had long desired the Golden Rose, a rich jewel and mark of dis-

tinction yet conferred from time to time by the papacy upon those the pope wished to reward for distinguished services.

The use of this Golden Rose is of the greater significance to Americans from the fact that a similar bribe is bestowed upon prominent citizens and officials in this country who deserve well of popery because of extraordinary services. The decoration bestowed in the United States is called the Laetare Medal and has been received in recent years by the chief justice of the United States Supreme Court and the chief officer in the United States Navy.

The pope now determined to use the Golden Rose as a means of accomplishing his desires concerning Luther. Miltitz was appointed to convey it to the Elector, bearing with it two breves or decrees addressed to Frederick. One of these documents was a pompous letter of presentation calculated to impress the Elector with the surpassing value of the accompanying gift. The other exhorted Frederick to assist Miltitz in his proceedings against Luther. It was evidently the intention of the papal court and legate to secure the desired help before delivering the Rose.

A large number of documents similar to the latter, addressed to officials of Frederick's court, to Wittenberg magistrates, and to other German cities, were borne by Miltitz as an aid to conveying Luther through the cities and out of Germany when his capture had been accomplished. The Golden Rose, blessed, anointed, and perfumed, was deposited in the bank of the Fuggers at Augsburg to be delivered when Frederick had earned it by delivering Luther to his enemies.

Cajetan, still in Germany, published a bull upholding the Indulgence traffic which contained warn-

ings and threats against all who had or might oppose it. Miltitz had been given wide discretionary power as to how he should go about the suppression or capture of Luther. His original plans were no doubt modified when he entered Germany and discovered the extent of sympathy felt for Luther among the common people, and the enmity for Rome which was equally prevalent.

Miltitz decided to begin friendly negotiations with Luther at Altenburg where he had gone to pay his respects to the Elector Frederick. He began with a parade of candor and friendliness, and dramatic flattery to win the confidence of the man against whom he did not dare to use force or a show of compulsion. But Luther was equally shrewd. He agreed to yield all he conscientiously could and let the matter take its course. Miltitz cautiously refrained from demanding a recantation; and Luther promised to write a letter to the pope confessing that he had been too severe in his attacks upon the church; also to publish a decree to the Christian people of Germany recommending that due and proper respect be paid by all to ecclesiastical authority. It was further agreed that Luther's case, and the accusations against him, were to be brought before the tribunal of a German bishop, Luther reserving the right of further appeal to the pope. The latter also agreed to refrain from controversy, and Miltitz promised that Luther's opponents should also be commanded to keep silence.

With this compromise effected, the participants parted with demonstrations of greater friendliness. Luther, in a letter to the Elector, then expressed the hope that the difficulty might bleed itself to death in

silence, also the fear that if the contest were continued it might lead to greater conflict and graver results.

He composed the promised address to the people in such a way as to sacrifice no part of the principles which he had maintained. His letter to the pope, dated March 3, 1519, was worded in expressions of deepest humility but firmly and decidedly declined to recant. He maintained that his attack upon Indulgences had been intended to save the church from contamination by foreign avarice; that the people should not be led astray by the extravagant promises of the Indulgence merchants.

Emperor Maximilian had died Jan. 12, 1519. This was a decided loss to Luther and his cause; and yet the succession involved considerations that were more or less helpful to him, for the time at least. His death made it necessary for the papists to court Luther's friend, the Elector, because he would be the regent of the empire until the imperial election, and his influence would affect its result.

On June 28, 1519, King Charles of Spain, Maximilian's grandson, was chosen emperor at the age of 19. He was a stranger to Germany and the German people which was equally unfortunate for the nation and its Reformer. However, the pope had to proceed cautiously with the new emperor, for he had opposed him, while the emperor was under obligation to Luther's friend, the Elector Frederick, who had been instrumental in effecting his election.

Miltitz had been following his plan to the extent of selecting the Archbishop of Trier to hear Luther's case. In May he arrived with the legate, Cajetan, at Coblentz, where the archbishop resided; and invited Luther to appear at that place. He was unable to give

any information as to how Luther's communication had been received or acted upon at Rome. Luther therefore declined to leave the security of Wittenberg and protection of the Elector who likewise mistrusted the papal ambassadors.

In the meantime Luther was forced into a public debate with his old antagonist, Dr. Eck. The latter had been carrying on a warlike correspondence with Carlstadt, one of Luther's Wittenberg colleagues. This came to a climax in a public disputation held at Leipsic. Eck published a number of theses which he proposed to defend against Carlstadt. But these theses attacked Luther rather than Carlstadt inasmuch as they had to do with the supremacy of the pope in the early centuries of the church—a subject upon which Carlstadt had never written or spoken.

Luther therefore demanded the right to take part in the discussion. His friends tried to dissuade him from this purpose in fear for his safety among the hostile clergy of Leipsic and the partisans of its rival university. But Luther's determination could not be shaken; and Duke George of Saxony, whose dominion included the city of Leipsic, was earnestly desirous of having the points at issue threshed out to a conclusion.

The duke sent a letter of safety to Carlstadt including those whom he might bring with him; and Luther took advantage of that provision to accompany him. The date of the disputation was appointed for June 27, 1519. The Wittenbergers arrived in Leipsic on June 24. They entered one of the city gates escorted by 200 of their students armed with spears and halberds. Here again we are reminded of the contrast between the customs of that time and ours. Imagine an intercollegiate debate in our time attended

by quarrelsome partisans of each school all armed and prepared to fight on the least provocation.

On June 27 Eck and Carlstadt opened the debate amid pomp, parade, and ceremony. A large number of theologians and laymen, both educated and uneducated, had assembled from other places. Eck and Carlstadt contended for four days over minor points at issue between the orthodox and the Wittenbergers. The feeling of mutual hostility reached such a pitch that inn-keepers required armed guards at their tables to preserve order.

It was on July 4 that the debate between Eck and Luther began. An eye witness leaves the following description of Luther as he then appeared: "He is of medium size in body, reduced by cares and study so that almost every bone in his body could be counted. He is in his best years. His voice is distinct and clear. His learning and knowledge of the Scriptures are extraordiary, so that he has almost everything at his command. He has a sufficient knowledge of Greek and Hebrew to pass a judgment on the explanation of the Scriptures. Subject matter and words for discussion are abundantly at his command, and with this he is in life and manners cultured and friendly, has nothing of stoical harshness or pride in him; he knows how to accommodate himself to the different persons and times. In company he is cheerful and witty. He is at all times fresh, joyous and reliable, and has a pleasant countenance notwithstanding his enemies are constantly threatening him, so that one is constrained to believe that this man undertakes no difficult task without divine assistance. He is reproached by many for being more immoderate and bitter in his polemics than

is becoming a theologian and one who aims at establishing something new in divine matters."

The same witness describes Eck as a man of large, robust frame with a voice suited to the theater or the office of a herald—a voice more rough than distinct and decidedly disagreeable—with the mouth, eyes and whole appearance of a butcher or soldier, but with an extraordinary memory. In this respect, and in fluency of speech he was also Luther's superior; but in learning and thoroughness Luther was acknowledged by the impartial to be the better equipped. Eck was what in our day would be characterized as a bluffer, which is not without its own advantage in any kind of a contest, with the audacity to forsake a line of argument the moment he found himself at a disadvantage, and attempt to turn the discussion into another channel.

It seemed to be the object of Eck to identify Luther and his following with Huss and his Bohemian heresy which had been condemned by the Council of Constance, and was in bad repute throughout Germany. The opportunity came at the climax of the discussion when Luther referred to the theses of Huss, quoting some of their condemned contents with approbation. Eck had succeeded in his design of causing Luther to place himself in direct opposition to the Council of Constance. Eck had achieved his purpose, and was victor to that extent; but the debate had the greater effect of driving Luther farther from the sophistry upon which popery relied to maintain its divine origin.

The question agitating the nation had now reached the point where all hung on the supremacy of the pope. It had taken all the discussion and controversy up to

and including the Leipsic debate to convert Luther himself from faith in the divine origin of the papacy. Though Eck was more interested from beginning of the negotiations in driving Luther into uncompromisable conflict with papal authority, the lasting effect was to hurry Luther to the logical conclusion of his convictions and to stimulate dissemination of Reformation thoughts and ideas.

So far as Luther formed opinions concerning the Leipsic disputation, he regarded it as a waste of time; and longed before its end to be back at Wittenberg to renew his university work, preaching, and presenting the truth as he found it, to his congregation. The pope had not yet passed the expected sentence of condemnation, though he had repeatedly referred to Luther as a heretic deserving of no further consideration.

Several universities and bishops now made formal complaint against Luther, maintaining before the pope that his writings should be destroyed by fire, and that he should be forced to recant. Following the method of Eck, they and others stigmatized him as a heretic Hussite; but Luther's reply was to the effect that he had learned much from Huss without realizing it before—that Staupitz, and even the Apostle Paul and Saint Augustine were Hussites, that all bona-fide Christians are Hussites though not aware of it.

Huss was burned at the stake July 6, 1415. There is a legend to the effect that when he was on his way to the place of execution, he uttered the following prophecy: "You are today roasting a lean goose (such was the meaning of his name); but after a hundred years you will hear the song of a swan, arising from my ashes, whom you will be unable to roast." It is

because of this prophecy that the picture of a swan is often found with that of Luther.

Eck hastened to Rome to follow up the advantage he thought he had gained over Luther among the people. At the same time the entire Dominican order joined in the hue and cry. Duke George of Saxony, shocked at Luther's admitted agreement with the hated Hussites, preferred charges against him before his ruler and protector, the Elector of Saxony. Never had there been such a formidable array of foes bent upon his destruction.

And yet the Elector persisted in protecting him while many others rallied to his support. It was a time of alignment which swiftly separated and identified those who were with the Reformer from those who were against him. His own widely circulated writings did much to draw the dividing line and force the issue. Many who had been at war with Rome now joined their cause and fortunes to that of Luther. Among these was a German knight, Ulrich von Hutten, who wielded both pen and sword with vigor.

Von Hutten had always been a German first, and was so filled with patriotic ardor that he had naturally learned to dislike the Italian spirit which dominated the church. He despised monkery and now found delight in bringing numerous supporters to Luther from among his acquaintances and friends. Like many of his equals, he first regarded Luther's defection as a monkish squabble beneath his notice; but when it came to an issue between a true representative of his beloved country and the German-hating pope, he investigated and espoused Luther's cause with ardor .

Von Hutten succeeded in bringing his powerful and energetic friend, Franz von Sickingen, skilled in

war and politics, into the union against Rome and the papacy. The latter placed his strong castles at the disposal of Luther as a refuge in case he should need them. In like manner hundreds of the nobility urged him to not think of fleeing to the Bohemians but to remain where they would protect him.

These assurances must have been a comfort to Luther who said of two such loyal knights, "Schauenburg and Sickingen have delivered me from the fear of men. I shall now have to encounter the wrath of demons." At about this time he wrote, "My opponents shall know that what I have not yet said against them has been owing, not to my leniency, nor to their merit of tyranny, but to the name and fame of the Elector and the common interests of the University of Wittenberg. As far as I am concerned, the die is cast! Rome's favor and wrath are condemned! I will never become reconciled to them, nor hold fellowship with them. Let them condemn and burn my books!"

There was a wonderful awakening of the national feeling heretofore overshadowed by Romish influence. As Von Hutten said, "What have we to do with the Romans and with their bishop? Have we not archbishops and bishops in Germany? As if we were obliged to kiss the feet of the pope! Let Germany return, and it will return, to its own bishops and shepherds!"

"The time for silence was past and the time for speaking had come." So said Luther at the beginning of his pamphlet addressed to "the Christian Nobles of the German Nation: concerning the Reformation of Christendom." And further, "The Romanists have with great adroitness built a triple wall about themselves, so that no one has been able to reform them,

and because of which all Christendom has fearfully degenerated. In the first place, whenever they have been threatened by the secular power, they have resisted and said, 'The secular power has no right over the spiritual power; but, on the contrary, the latter has control over the former.' And when the Holy Scripture was brought to bear upon them, they contended that the pope alone should interpret it. And, in the third place, when they are threatened with a council, they pretend that no one but a pope can call a council. Thus have they secretly stolen three of our rods, that they may go unpunished; and, having fortified themselves with this triple wall, they have carried on their knavery and wickedness in security."

In that recital of facts concerning the attempt of the papacy to rule the German nation and people, the discerning reader may see the political significance of the Reformation—that it was not merely a matter of theology, but that it had to do with the secular and notably the political life of the people as well. The political authority and influence asserted and exercised by the popes was really more grievous in effect than their exercise of authority over faith and religion. It was by the authority they asserted that they retained such a hold upon the people as to continually exploit them, rather than by dictation of their religious faith.

He protested most vigorously and effectively against the insolent behavior of the pope toward the German emperor, in presuming to control the latter, obliging him to hold his stirrup and kiss his foot. Luther laid the foundation for the separation of Church and State by admitting that the pope is superior in spiritual office, but that in all other things the emperor is superior, thereby anticipating the action taken later

in America to separate the two so that each might be free from and independent of the other.

In less than a month four thousand copies of this pamphlet, dealing largely with the political phase of the Reformation, were circulated; and a new edition was published. The long expected now happened, when Eck returned to Germany with the papal bull of excommunication. It was proclaimed at numerous places before its publication in Wittenberg. The bull is a wonderful document beginning with a tirade of senseless jargon calculated to impress with mere noise, then proceeding to consideration of Luther's alleged heresies which were considered in detail and condemned as heretical. Luther is called upon to recant within sixty days. If he and his followers fail to obey, they are to be treated as stiff-necked heretics. Luther's writings are to be burned so all remembrance of him may be blotted out. All intercourse with him or his adherents is forbidden. All are commanded to seize Luther and deliver him to the pope of Rome, to be dealt with "according to law," which probably was intended to mean that he would be burned at the stake since one of his Theses which was condemned by this instrument declared that to burn heretics is against the will of the Holy Spirit.

Eck's reception, as bearer of the bull of excommunication, was not so triumphant as he probably expected. Even in Leipsic the citizens posted warnings against him on the street corners. He was obliged to take refuge there in a monastery to escape violence, and students sang satirical songs which were anything but complimentary to the successful debater of former fame. At Erfurt the students attacked him in

armed force, seized the printed copies of the bull, and threw them into the river.

Luther's reply to the writ of excommunication appeared in a pamphlet entitled "Against the Bulls of the Antichrist" in which he again appealed to a council of the church. In the meantime his books were gathered and burned, in compliance with the decree, at Cologne in the presence of the emperor, and at Louvain and Mayence.

These measures moved Luther to action; and he publicly announced that the bull of excommunication, together with the papal books of canon law would be burned on the morning of November 11, at 9 o'clock. At that time a concourse of students, masters, and doctors were assembled at the appointed place, where they prepared and lighted the fire into which Luther cast the offensive books and document. To give vent to their feelings, several hundred students remained at the fire feeding the flames with papal writings while others paraded the streets deriding Eck and the decree they had burned.

On the following day, Luther made the meaning and lesson of the bonfire more impressive by reminding his colleagues and students that to burn the pope's decretals was mere child's play: that it was more important and necessary to burn the pope; that is, the Roman authority, with all its teachings and abominations. Said he, "If you do not, with all your heart, resist the blaspemous government of the pope, you cannot be saved; for the pope's dominion is so contrary to Christ's kingdom and to the Christian life, that it would be safer and better to live in an uninhabited desert than to dwell in an anti-Christian empire."

By these proceedings Luther formally severed his ecclesiastical relations with the Church of Rome; and, to make the act complete, declared his release from the obligation of his monastic vows. But the storm that swept Germany as a result divided the nation into two hostile camps, and the battle began which is destined never to end until popery is discredited and deprived of all power to meddle in the affairs of nations.

In the excitement some of the knights proposed a resort to arms to drive all Romanists from the land; but Luther restrained them with the consistent declaration that "We must not contend for the Gospel with brute force and murder." Luther relied then as ever in the power of the Word which was his sword and shield.

The time alloted for recantation having expired without compliance, Pope Leo issued another bull against Luther and his adherents on January 3, 1521; but papal authority was so weakened and its prestige so destroyed, that the latest anathema and interdict was received by the German people with ridicule and derision.

Just resentment of long standing against clerical and papal oppression drove both princes and people to favorable regard for the one reformer whom papal Rome was unable to crush. His success was their encouragement and inspiration. The conviction was now wide-spread among all classes that popery was but man-made; and, as their allegiance to the papal system waned, their loyalty to, and faith in, their own country increased.

The attitude of Luther's immediate sovereign, Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, was diplomatic, though his sympathy for Luther and his cause was

stronger than ever. Diplomatic neutrality also affected Luther's enemies as well as his friends. Even the Archbishop of Magdeburg and Mainz, who might be expected to feel special resentment because of interference with the Indulgence traffic in which he was directly interested, had been extremely cautious to avoid a decisive stand against the growing sentiment.

The possibility of a German church, independent of Rome, was attractively interesting to all who were more or less moved by national sentiment. Over against all this was the new emperor who was Spanish and papal in training and preference; and yet, even he had other problems to solve which might make the good will of Luther and his friends materially valuable.

But Charles was justly jealous of the imperial prerogative, and determined to exercise his rights as ruler. It appeared to him that Luther was not so docile a subject as he should be; and that a hearing might bring Luther into right relations with his imperial sovereign, whatever resulted concerning the claims and grievances of the pope. In summoning Luther to the Diet at Worms, he was really following an independent policy of his own rather than yielding to the dictates of Rome. He no doubt preferred religious unity as a contributing condition to the unity of his enlarged realm; but he chose to effect that unity in his own way and in progressive furtherance of his own plans and interests.

Fully aware of the prevailing thought and public opinion in Germany, Charles proceeded on his journey up the Rhine towards Worms where he intended to hold an imperial Diet to meet and confer with the princes of the empire. It was then that Frederick the Wise, ever careful of Luther's interest, used his in-

fluence to secure a hearing for the ex-communicated and condemned man before the secular power delivered him to his ecclesiastical enemies.

The Elector received the desired reply that he might bring Luther to Worms for that purpose with the assurance that no injustice should be done him. The Elector was suspicious, and was inclined to fear that Romish influence might yet prevail upon Charles to even violate the promised safe conduct as it had been in the case of Huss.

But, when Luther was informed that the emperor expected his presence at Worms, he declared: "If I am called, I shall come, as much as is of me, even if I must suffer to be led there sick; for we dare not doubt that I am being called by the Lord when the emperor calls me." He said further, "They will probably employ force against me; however, that God lives yet who preserved the three men in the furnace at Babylon * * * I will not flee; much less recant!"

In the meantime the pope urged the emperor to execute the bull by which Luther was already definitely condemned by papal edict. Ordinarily such a demand upon a Catholic sovereign would have been complied with without hesitation; but now the burden of advice from his counsellors was that he should take no action in the matter without consent of the German states whose princes and representatives would soon assemble at Worms.

Charles yielded so far to the papal influence as to propose a mandate to the States which provided that Luther should be imprisoned and his protectors punished as guilty of treason. After a seven-day debate a substitute was agreed upon which required Luther to appear and answer the question without debate

"Whether he intended to insist upon those writings published by him against our holy Christian faith, or not."

Accordingly Luther was cited to appear at Worms to give information concerning his doctrines and books under the imperial promise of safe conduct. All this offered to Luther was an opportunity to journey safely to Worms, and there repudiate all which was essential to his teachings. The outlook was anything but encouraging; but Luther met the situation calmly with the determination to obey the citation, but to refuse recantation unless convinced of error.

On April 2, he departed for Worms with several companions. The Wittenberg authorities supplied him with a wagon and horses. Kaspar Sturm, the herald who had served the imperial summons, rode in front, bearing the imperial coat of arms and thereby attracting attention to the man who had already agitated Germany as no other. Everywhere the people gathered in crowds to see him.

Luther's friends were everywhere in evidence; and his progress through Erfurt, Weimar, Gotha, Eisenach, Frankfort, and other places on the way, was in the nature of a triumphal procession, though its honors were rendered to a condemned offender apparently going to his doom. He preached several times and maintained his usual demeanor though physically infirm and threatened by imperial edicts posted by the wayside which commanded that all his books should be given up to be destroyed.

This order was given by the diplomatic emperor to pacify the pope's legates who were dissatisfied because of the citation in place of the direct action they desired. Luther was alarmed, as he had good reason

to be; but was not to be deterred from going through with what he had deliberately undertaken.

In Worms the partisans of both sides were anxious and excited. Hutten issued furiously threatening declarations against the papal legates, who feared that an attack would be made upon them by the doughty knight. Luther and his friends were equally fearful that the safe conduct might not be honored, for it was a feature of papal "justice" that no one was bound to observe the safe conduct of a condemned heretic. To the temptations of an emissary of the legates, who seems to have been sent to persuade him to avoid Worms and stop at Sickingen's castle, Luther replied that "Glapio can see us all in Worms if he chooses; if Huss had been burned, nevertheless the truth had not been burned; he would go to Worms if there were as many devils there as tiles on the roofs."

When he entered the city, April 16, he was accompanied by a large number on horseback as well as his three companions from Wittenberg. When the watchman, posted in a tower of the cathedral, blew his trumpet on the approach of the procession, thousands rushed out to behold the monk who had created such a prodigious disturbance.

Throngs of distinguished and representative people visited him, desiring to make his acquaintance. On the evening of the next day he was summoned to appear before the Diet. It was necessary to conduct him thither through by-ways, for the streets were blocked with crowds intent upon seeing him.

When he appeared before the Diet, he was asked two questions by the archiepiscopal counsellor: first, whether he acknowledged as his own books the volumes of his writings upon exhibit; and second, whether he

would revoke their contents. Hieronymus Schurf, who had been commissioned by the Elector to defend him, insisted that the titles of the books should be read.

Luther was intimidated by the sight of the august assembly, and unprepared for such procedure. He answered in a low tone, and as though alarmed, that the books were his; but that their contents, concerning the Word of God and the soul's salvation, had to do with matters of such importance, that he must guard himself against an inconsiderate answer. For that reason he begged for more time to consider his answer to the second question.

He was given until morning to consider his reply; and when he appeared the second time, the imperial chancellor modified his query by asking, "Will you defend all the books acknowledged by you, or recant some of them?" Luther now replied in a firm tone that his books were of several classes. In some of them he treated simple evangelical truths which must be confessed alike by friend and foe; these he certainly could not recant. In other books he had attacked pernicious laws and doctrines of the papacy which, as no one could deny, tortured the consciences of Christians and devoured the property of the nation; if he should recant these books, he would make himself an accomplice in oppressive wickedness. In yet other books he had written against persons who defended and sanctioned such tyranny and who had antagonized pious teachings; against them he admitted that he had been more severe than was proper; however, he could not recant even these books without aiding in the furtherance of tyranny and ungodliness.

Then, to the discomfiture of his enemies, he laid down the gage of battle in the following quotation from

St. John (xviii, 23) "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil," asking with an impressiveness equal to a demand that his opponents produce counter evidence from the prophetic and evangelical writings. With clever strategy he had shifted from the defensive to a fresh attack upon the papacy with an earnest admonition to the emperor and rulers of German states that, instead of securing peace and quiet by condemnation of the divine Word, they would open the floodgates of evil and mar the reign of the young emperor at its beginning. For this bold stroke he apologized by saying that while it did not become him to presumptiously proffer advice, yet he could not refrain from speaking as he did in behalf of his beloved Germany.

Luther, like the imperial counsellor, spoke Latin; and repeated his speech in German at the request of interested parties in that earnest audience. At its close everybody present was struck with profound amazement at the bravery and free delivery of this telling argument. There was an interim during which the princes held a short consultation.

The prosecutor then resumed, reproaching him, at the suggestion of the emperor, for having spoken rudely and without really answering the question put to him. Luther's appeal for counter-evidence was rejected because his heresy was condemned by the church in all time. He was promised gentle consideration of his books provided he would revoke his principal heresies. In conclusion, the counsellor insisted upon a simple, concise answer to the question, whether he would adhere to all his writings or recant some. To this he replied:

"Then I will give an answer that has neither horns nor teeth." Unless refuted by evidence from the Scrip-

tures, or by sound, clear argument, his conscience would be bound by the words of God which he had quoted in his writings, for the popes and councils had often erred, as was evident; and he could not and would not recant anything, because to act against conscience is unsafe and dangerous. Under the sharp and threatening rejoinder of the prosecutor, he remained calm, and re-affirmed his determination by saying, "Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise: God help me, amen!"

It was now eight o'clock in the evening, and the session adjourned amid excitement and disturbance among those in the audience. When Luther was led out, there was an uproar caused by the impression that he was being carried away as a prisoner. Luther returned to his lodgings cheerful and happy exclaiming "I have got through! I have got through!" In the presence of a numerous company he declared that though he had a thousand heads, he would allow all of them to be cut off rather than recant a single word.

The effect of Luther's brave stand is indicated by the Elector's summoning Luther to his own apartments where he warmly commended his effective defense by declaring: "Wonderfully well and boldly did Father Doctor Martinus speak in Latin and German before the emperor, the princes and States of the empire; he is much too bold for me!"

Luther's defense made no such favorable impression on the emperor who informed the States the next morning that he had determined to send him back to Wittenberg and treat him as a heretic. A majority prevailed upon Charles, however, to allow further negotiations through a special committee. This committee was headed by the Elector of Trier; and they showed a

kindness and moral interest in marked contrast with the hostile attitude of the counsellor, Eck.

This committee offered concessions that were remarkable when it is remembered that he with whom they were treating had already been condemned by the pope. But Luther was immovable in his determination to do nothing and concede nothing that would contravene the Word of God. On the tenth day of his sojourn in Worms, Luther begged permission to return home since nothing concerning him had been concluded. This was granted together with a safe conduct valid for twenty-one days. Luther started home, outlawed now by both Rome and the imperial government. It seemed as though the only result of his hearing before the emperor and Diet was to postpone the inevitable for a few short weeks.

He had reached the point where his future welfare depended on others; and they did not fail him in the hour of need. Frederick, the Saxon Elector, could no longer give him protection and public support at Wittenberg, but loyally contrived for his protection in another way and at another place. He revealed his plans to Luther on the evening before his departure, and they worked with perfect precision.

The herald, appointed to accompany him, was dismissed at Friedberg with a letter to the emperor in which Luther maintained the righteousness of his position. He was received in Herzfeld by the abbot with high honor in spite of the ban; and he preached in Eisenach regardless of the interdiction. Several of the party left him at Eisenach whence he proceeded southward to visit relatives at Mohra. Here he spent the night with an uncle, and preached the next morning. Thence, in company with relatives, he took a road lead-

ing near Alterstein Castle through the Thuringian forest.

Near Alterstein he parted with his relatives late in the day. When he had proceeded a few miles further and had reached a secluded place in the hills, armed knights attacked the carriage, roughly removing Luther and carrying him away. The coachman and another member of the party, who were in the secret, feigned surprise and alarm; but were permitted to resume their journey relieved of Petzensteiner, the monk, who had fled at the first attack.

After a detour, to conceal their destination from those who might follow, the knights took Luther, mounted on one of their horses to Wartburg Castle near Eisenach. Here he was to be protected as a prisoner knight; and the secret of his identity was carefully kept from both friend and foe. His fate was unknown for weeks even to many of his nearest friends who were alarmed with reports that his enemies had violently put him out of the way.

At Worms the work of Luther's enemies was consummated by edicts decreeing against him the imperial ban in addition to that of the papal bulls. No one was to receive, entertain, or befriend him; but he was to be arrested, wherever found and delivered to the emperor. Such is the thorny path travelled by the world's benefactors whose ideals and labors are in advance of their time.

Luther, now known as Knight George, disguised in beard and the accoutrements of the knightly profession, remained securely in the great castle until conditions made his presence in Witteberg desirable and safe.

CHAPTER III

The Triumph

Luther's fate was now unknown to all, save the Elector and the few discreet knights who had been entrusted with the details of seizure and concealment. His enemies might have derived some satisfaction from the hope that he had been assassinated were it not for the temper of the people who clung to his cause notwithstanding their fears that the worst had befallen their leader.

He changed his monk's robe for that of a knight; which, with a heavy beard, a sword, and other accessories of the role adopted for disguise, enabled him to move about to a limited extent with a considerable degree of personal freedom. His secret was guarded with remarkable fidelity; and it was only after facilities were provided for communication with associates at Wittenberg that his friends learned of his safety, though but few of them knew where he was.

These means of intercourse were provided by the loyal Elector through the kindred spirits of his court who carried the messages and delivered them so cleverly that but the faintest suspicion of his hiding place became current. When Luther understood that the place of his retreat was suspected, he wrote a letter to a friend which was intended to fall into the hands of his foes. A part of that letter is as follows: "There is, as I learn, a rumor in circulation, that Luther is sojourning in the Wartburg, at Eisenach. The people

thus suppose, because I was taken prisoner in the forest; but while they are thus imagining, I am reposing here in concealment. Should the books which I publish betray me, then I would change my situation; it is remarkable that nobody thinks of Bohemia."

But his correspondent made no such use of the letter as was apparently intended, which was probably better than to risk its effect upon the astute heretic hunters. After the publication of the edict, which had but slight effect upon the people, the emperor left Germany and became involved in war with France. With the Elector doing all for him in his power, the people sympathetic, and the emperor busied elsewhere, Luther applied himself to study and constructive writing which reached the people through his colleagues at Wittenberg.

Together with a translation of the New Testament, there were sermons, and treatises, and expositions of wide range and varied nature, all of which served to direct the thought and fix the faith of his devoted followers. And yet he complained of the idle life forced upon him by irritating solitude and the limitations of concealment. Physical disorders, due to retarded activity and the rich fare which was better suited to the active knights than to their sedentary charge, were an impediment that depressed his spirits and tried his limited patience.

Attempts to secure exercise in company with the knights were unsatisfactory to one of his nature; for their dogs in pursuit of rabbits reminded him of bloodthirsty devils pursuing the innocent. More agreeable was the gathering of strawberries in the beautiful forests adjacent to the castle.

An ink-spot is still pointed out on the wall of the

Wartburg made, according to tradition, by an ink-well hurled by Luther at Satan when the latter persisted in annoying him. Trustworthy historians assure us that the story is a product of later times, for nothing was known of it in the time of Luther; and such a stain has also been pointed out at the castle of Coburg where he sojourned in 1530.

Luther's colleagues continued their labors at Wittenberg with the addition of numerous distinguished scholars. But, in his absence, there was the lack of a directing mind competent to concentrate their efforts to a desirable common end during this period of transition. Sporadic attempts to enforce the Edict of Worms against Luther's followers resulted in clashes that agitated the people; and brought such radicals as Carlstadt and Zwilling into prominence and influence.

At the same time that the empire, under papal influence, had made Luther an outlaw, Luther's teaching and following had repudiated the essentials of popery. If there was no longer a place for Luther in the open, there was no place left for monasticism and the mass. The Reformation had reached that stage where some provision must be made for the administration of the Lord's Supper in conformity with the new idea, and something had to be done concerning the monks and their vows.

Carlstadt was most zealous in his endeavor to effect immediate results. With a large number of those who endorsed his views, he entered the castle church, drove out the priests who were reading mass, and destroyed pictures, statues, and altars. He demanded the immediate enactment and enforcement of laws compelling the clergy to marry and allowing none but married men to officiate in the churches. He

preached the immediate abolishment of masses, and that nuns and monks should leave their cloisters. He also specified the form of the Lord's Supper to the end that twelve communicants should receive both wine and bread together.

Reports of these, and like things, with which the mild-mannered Melanchthon was unable to cope in opposition to the fiery Carlstadt, caused Luther such uneasiness, that he hastened from his hiding to Wittenberg, where he suddenly appeared among his friends on the first day of December. He remained there three days acquiring such a knowledge of the situation as could not be obtained by the slow and laborous process of correspondence.

He also improved his short stay among them to give his judicious associates the comfort and counsel they needed; and, on his return, prepared "A Faithful Warning to all Christians to Guard Themselves Against Insurrection and Revolt." He had already addressed the princes, magistrates, and nobility, exhorting them to check ecclesiastical corruption and papal tyranny; and he now made use of all the influence he could exert to avert sedition and prevent the masses from resorting to violent measures.

It was his desire that the needed Reformation should proceed in an orderly manner, for "the Lord should slay the Antichrist with the breath of his mouth." He relied upon words as the weapons of truth, the power of which had been demonstrated in his own experience. He counselled toleration for those who were yet too weak to forego Rome's rites and ceremonies. They were not to be overwhelmed, but instructed patiently. His severe condemnation of the

wolves was balanced by admonitions of gentleness toward "the weak sheep."

In his further stay at the Wartburg, Luther undertook his translation of the Bible, following that of the New Testament. Luther's enemies seek to discredit the value of that monumental work by calling attention to the fact that the Bible had already been translated into German before Luther's time. So it had; but not into the understandable German of Luther, and not from the original texts to which Luther went for his material. The only German Bible prior to Luther was taken from the Latin version, and rendered into a ponderous German which was unfamiliar and unpleasant to the ears of the people. The value of Luther's translation lay in the two important facts that it was derived from original sources, and was rewritten in the true vernacular—the language of his living countrymen.

Luther went seriously about his task in the conviction that it would not be enough to merely substitute words, thereby leaving the Bible yet in the form of a dead language. It was his care to preserve the thought and meaning, and to so express them that they would be grasped and clearly understood by the mind which thought in the vernacular.

While Luther was so busied, and was trying to check the excessive radicalism by correspondence and other communications, Carlstadt and kindred spirits went rapidly from one excess to another. They not only renounced all the titles and honors of scholarship, such as the university confers, but heaped contempt upon human knowledge, quoting Jesus to the effect that knowledge of things divine is hidden from the wise and prudent, and revealed to babes; and teaching

that enlightenment must come solely through the spirit from above. Consistent with that view, Carlstadt sought explanations of Bible passages from simple and unlearned citizens, and so emphasized the superior insight of the uneducated as to cause discontinuance of the boys' school in the city.

In the midst of this three men came to Wittenberg from Zwickau who claimed that they had been the first to receive the divine spirit with commission to carry on God's work. One of them was a former Wittenberg student, Marcus Stuebner; and two of them, Nicholas Storch and Martin Cellarius, had been weavers. These fanatics claimed that they were in direct communication with God, and that they were enlightened daily by dreams and visions.

So strong were they on their prophetic gifts as to assert the superiority of their revelations over those of the Scriptures. From that basis their fanaticism jumped to the conclusion that all priests should be slain, all sinners likewise removed, and that the remaining saints would then proceed to the erection of God's kingdom on earth.

The doctrine seems to have had its origin at Zwickau under the leadership of Thomas Munzer, who preached a sensational mixture of communism and revolt against all existing institutions. When the local magistrate interfered, Munzer went elsewhere, and his three associates invaded Wittenberg. It seems that Carlstadt held aloof from them, but their common tendency became apparent with the further progress of revolutionary radicalism.

All this was embarrassing to the Elector who was equally fearful of Luther's return lest he be arrested and summarily dealt with, and agitated by the demands

of the imperial authorities that he suppress the Wittenberg innovations. Luther solved the perplexing problem by leaving the Wartburg on March 1 without permission. On the way he wrote the Elector, announcing his intentions without apology but with explanations calculated to satisfy his benefactor and strengthen his faith. Said he:

"I make my journey to Wittenberg under a protection infinitely more powerful than the Elector's; yea, I maintain that I could protect your Electoral Highness more than you could protect me. God must here do His work without the care or aid of man; hence, he who believes best, is best protected."

Replying to the question as to what the Elector should do in his behalf, he replied. "Nothing at all." His advice was that the Elector should submit to the rule of the imperial government without the least resistance even though Luther were taken and put to death. Let the Elector render strict obedience to the imperial government, and leave the rest to the higher power in which Luther relied implicitly.

Riding forward without fear, Luther arrived among his friends at Wittenberg on March 6, 1522. This was on Thursday; and on the following Sunday he appeared before the congregation in his old pulpit. For eight days he talked to his people in plain and earnest language concerning the errors into which they had fallen.

The result was that both Zwilling and Carlstadt were persuaded to retract. If Luther had been the turbulent, irascible character that he is always described by his enemies, this gentle victory over fanatical opponents and his excited and disaffected following could never have been won. His gentle patience,

and persuasive appeal to the better nature of the people restored pastor and flock to each other and the peace so needed to avoid serious complications.

The Zwickau prophets disappeared at Luther's coming, but two of them returned in a few weeks to demand his faith in their higher authority. He confounded them by requesting them to establish their doctrine by miracles of which they had boasted, and exposed their weakness, even to their own conviction of it, by such sound argument that they left the city.

Of this trying and momentous affair, Kostlin says: "Thus Luther, who according to the reproach of his enemies had broken down all churchly order, herewith introduced his practical reformatory activity in that he checked the fury of others by virtue of his own positive and clear principles, and was wholly bent on the actual edification of the church. The preacher of pardoning and saving faith in his practical church relations, he insisted above all on charity, which must prove itself in the practice of liberty. This strong man of the people had opposed, without any regard to general opinion, what had become the popular tendency. Under the influence of his preaching the emperor could well permit matters to develop in Wittenberg and vicinity. Frederick no less permitted the neighboring bishops to oppose the new doctrine by making visits within the bounds of his provinces, only he denied them the assistance of governmental compulsion and secular power. Truth itself was left to break its own way."

Luther remained at Wittenberg, and again took up every branch of his calling. He also made journeys to neighboring cities, especially to Zwickau whither he went to further check the effects of fanaticism. With the assistance of Melanchthon and other friends, he re-

sumed the translation of the Bible and a revision of the New Testament.

On September 21, the first edition of the New Testament was issued, the demand for which was so great as to necessitate another edition in December. One of his contemporaneous opponents says of this: "Luther's New Testament was multiplied by the publishers in a marvellous manner, so much so that soon cobblers and women, and every layman in the least acquainted with the German Scriptures, read it most eagerly as the source of all truth, and stamped it upon their memory by repeated reading. By this means they professed to have acquired within a few months so much knowledge as to venture into dispute concerning faith and the Gospel, not only with the Catholic laity but also with the doctors of sacred theology. Luther indeed had long before taught that Christian women also were truly priests, and anyone who had been baptized, as much as were pope, bishop and priest. The mass of Lutherans applied themselves more diligently to reading the newly translated Scriptures than did the Catholic people, among whom this business is left chiefly to the priests and monks."

Engaged now in the translation of the Bible, he also wrote much miscellaneous matter, among which was a reply to the coarse attack made upon his former work by King Henry of England. With characteristic vigor, Luther took advantage of the opportunity to repay the royal author in kind, observing that "King Henry must help to prove the proverb that there are no bigger fools than kings and princes."

Luther was not only able to prosecute his labors in Wittenberg and vicinity; but the imperial authority gave opportunity for the dissemination of his doctrine

throughout Germany. At succeeding Diets it was impossible for his enemies to control such a majority as at the Diet of Worms; and his teaching contributed more and more to the increase of his influence.

Force having failed to suppress the irrepressible Reformer, recourse was had to Rome's favorite argument. This was then addressed to the princes and secular rulers of the time, as it now is to modern governments; and was to the effect that contempt of papal decrees and waning respect for the dignitaries of the Romish church would surely undermine all respect for civil authority. This worn-out argument is not uncommon even in the papist press of the present century; but it made so little impression on the German princes that at the Diet, held at Nurnberg in the winter of 1522-23, those civil rulers responded to the insistent demands of Pope Hadrian VI by restating their old grievances against the papacy, and demanding a free Christian council to be held in Germany.

Another Diet, from which Hadrian's successor, Clement VII, again demanded execution of the Edict of Worms, rendered an edict on April 18, 1524, which provided that the Decree of Worms should be enforced "as far as possible," but that the Lutheran and other new doctrines should first be "examined with the greatest diligence" and, together with the former grievances, be laid before the demanded council.

Luther was justly indignant at this professed willingness for him to be treated as one condemned while the character of his teaching was yet held to be a matter for examination; but the contradictory decree could operate only to defeat itself, and must have been as irritating to the expectant pope and his following as to Luther.

It was at this period that the Reformation won its first territory and lost its first martyrs. On April 10, 1525, the King of Poland invested the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, Albert of Brandenburg, with the office of Hereditary Duke of Prussia. Albert had long been in close sympathy with the Lutheran movement as were most of the members of his Order; and they now made the new secular principality a home of the new doctrine; and Prussia became the first Protestant country.

Two young Augustinian monks, Henry Voes and John Esch, were publicly burned as heretics in the imperial hereditary domains; and Henry Moller was murdered by a monk-excited mob at Ditmar on Dec. 11, 1524 whither he had gone from Breslau on evangelistic work. Luther composed a hymn in commemoration of the former which was first circulated as a tract, and afterwards published in a small collection of songs.

It was three years later, in 1527, that his greatest contribution to sacred music, "Ein Feste Burg," appeared. By that time many of the new hymns had become familiar to the people, and were sung in homes and churches. In the preface to a collection of hymns, Luther says: "I do not think that all arts should be trampled under foot by the Gospel and vanish before it, as some of the higher clergy maintain; but I long to see all arts, especially music, in the service of Him who hath given and created them."

His enemies assert that Luther was the foe of art, and that the effect of his teaching and the Reformation was to neglect and even discourage those finer products of human effort; but we find Luther contributing his work and approval of music, poetry, and the noble

sciences even at the time he was sorely pressed with other matters and their insistent demands.

If there was a lack of artistic impulse among the people, it is chargeable to their previous condition, and to Romish culture which had taxed Germany to decorate Rome. At this time, when he had passed from the necessity of a continuous struggle to save his life from his enemies, his constructive efforts begin to bear fruit; and, in addition to words and labors in behalf of art, his discourses abound in admonitions impressing the universal duty of affording youth the instruction and education needed to develop their faculties harmoniously. In 1523 he suggested that the cloisters might be utilized as schools for boys and girls.

In his argument for universal education, he called particular attention to the fact that both church and state needed efficient servants which were to be had by education and suitable cultivation. He laid particular stress upon the languages and upon history, lamenting that so little had been done to preserve the history of his country, a neglect which he contrasted with the diligence of the Greeks, Latins, and Hebrews. The need for education was especially urged in 1524 by means of a circular letter addressed "To the Councillors of all the Cities of Germany," which exhorted them to establish and maintain adequate schools.

There was pressing need for attention to educational matters, for the temporary enthusiasm, which had caused the most energetic youth to follow the Humanists in the study and imitation of the ancient classics, had quickly subsided. There was a falling off in the attendance at the universities. Luther's enemies charged the diminished interest in learning to his teaching; but it is a matter of record that this

deplorable condition was more marked in those places where Luther's teaching had been rejected.

The real reason was that the learning imported from Greece and cultivated by the aristocratic Humanists was of the kind that appeals to a leisure class; and all this was relegated to the background in the presence of the movement that agitated all, and the masses particularly, in regard to the highest questions and interests of life. There was moreover the economic motive which drew many into the growing commerce which had been stimulated by geographical discoveries and the consequent extension of colonization and trade.

Among his constructive efforts of this period, Luther visited his birthplace, Eisleben, in April, 1525, together with Melanchthon, to assist the Count of Mansfield in establishing a school. This time of building and planning is in strong contrast with his former occupation in contending with his opponents; and reveals his capacity for rearing those things needed by civilization. His enemies harp upon his genius for destruction, and studiously ignore the fact that his ideas of social betterment provided for the erection of institutions most needed as well as the clearing away of such rubbish as papal authority had long imposed upon the people.

Luther was now confronted with the most grievous problem of his whole experience—the revolt of the peasants inspired by the teaching of such fanatics as Carlstadt. Reports of their violence reached him on his return to Wittenberg from Eisleben; and his feelings are expressed in the following excerpt from a letter: "None of all my enemies, however hardly they have pressed me, have struck me with such a blow as our own people are now striking."

It will be remembered how Luther had hastened from the Wartburg to Wittenberg to counteract the growing disorder caused by Carlstadt and the Zwickau prophets; and how, at the peril of seizure and delivery to his enemies, he had come out of hiding to preach publicly and win the people back to the sanity they had forsaken.

It was then that he came first in direct conflict with the communistic agitators, and removed their influence over the people by the gentle means of argument. Carlstadt sullenly subsided when his followers were shown the error of their way and no longer supported him. But the man was temperamentally inclined toward a mysticism similar to that of the Zwickau fanatics, and there were other influences at work everywhere that tended to encourage intemperate thought and actions.

He finally renounced the pursuit of learning and all academic pursuits in the belief that they were of no value and only a source of vanity; and moved to a small farm near Wittenberg to live what he esteemed the better life of a layman and peasant. From there he went to the parish of Orlamund near Jena where a vacancy had occurred, and preached his peculiar doctrines with such success as to profoundly impress the congregation.

It was not long until his followers began tearing down images, and went wild when Carlstadt publicly proclaimed that no respect should be shown for any authority, approved the practice of polygamy on sanction of the Old Testament, and evolved a fanciful system of theology in which theocracy was queerly mixed with philosophical and practical anarchism.

Carlstadt also kept up a correspondence with

Munzer whose like teaching had inspired the Zwickau agitators. In the summer of 1523, Munzer began preaching in Allstedt, where he declared that he had direct communications with God, and condemned Luther on the charge that he was living an easy, sensual life.

Munzer felt called upon to establish a kingdom of saints, the saints to be composed of his followers who were to earn their sainthood by the destruction of tyrants and ungodly persons. This kingdom was to live by the commandments of the Old Testament, especially observing those instructions which commanded the people of God to drive out the heathen, destroy their altars, and to overthrow their idols.

He declared it an essential feature of the proposed kingdom that all goods should be held in common, and apportioned according to the need of each individual. All princes and rulers who would not support that program were to be killed. While Munzer preached this doctrine, he also endeavored to form a league of all such radicals for united action.

Luther met all this with calm reasoning that might have been more effectual were it not for the fact that there were economic evils that demanded redress which were not provided for in the new religion any more than they had been in the old. Luther resembled all intense religionists in the fact that he had regarded the bread and butter question as contemptible and unworthy of the consideration it really deserved. He was strong on spiritual truths but indifferent to the importance of those grosser but nevertheless necessary material considerations which are always remembered by the mass of humanity, and which have such an influence upon their thought and action.

There was nothing new about this particular insurrection of peasants. Philosophically considered, it was but one of similar incidents that have punctured history from the time of the first master and servant down to the modern wars of labor and capital. Nor was it new to the Germany of its time. We are told by German historians that in the last decades of the former century, there had been repeated uprisings of the poor who hoisted the "Bundschuh" as their standard and set out to practice what Munzer was now preaching.

They complained of the burdens laid upon them by their masters, of old taxes and new taxes, and of intolerable exactions imposed by force, from which they tried periodically to escape by like means. This dissatisfaction was not wholly confined to the peasants, but found more or less support at times among elements of the more fortunate classes who were affected by temporary misfortune or some consideration which made them look with favor upon a general revolution, even if it were brought about by the peasantry.

These preparatory conditions to revolutionary movement were already everywhere at hand, and made the simple minds of the aggrieved most susceptible to the communistic and anarchistic adaptations of religion which Munzer and his like invented to supply the demand. It is unquestionable that Luther's success in overthrowing papal authority did much to nourish faith in the success of any upheaval that the people might undertake in formidable numbers. But the fact throws no blame upon Luther whose counsel was always for moderation and condemnatory of every disorderly, violent act, whether for the advancement of his own movement or for any other purpose.

The peasant uprising originated in the summer of 1524 in the southern part of the Black Forest and spread at the beginning of the following year in all directions. The formulated demands submitted by them were comparatively mild, the first of the twelve, which demanded the right for every congregation to choose its own minister, being approved by Luther as just and proper, though he condemned the seditious use of force in its support. In some places they arrived at agreements with the nobility but without a desirable restoration of confidence.

Soon as the twelve demands of the peasants reached Luther, he prepared "An Admonition to Peace in Reply to the Twelve Articles of the Swabian Peasants." In this he took the non-partisan position that both sides of the controversy were at fault. Like all genuine neutrals, when trying to compose the differences of belligerent interests, his admonitions were not satisfactory to either faction; and had little or no effect upon the tendencies of the active party.

His first admonitions were directed toward the princes and nobles, who with fanatical bishops, priests and monks, are blamed for the insurrection because of their antagonism to religion and their extortions from the people. Such burdens as the people suffered from assessments and excessive taxation were aggravated by aristocratic display of pomp and splendor that had the inevitable effect of arousing resentment.

Luther called their attention to the fact that they could not blame the Gospel, as he had taught it, for the miseries that had come to pass, since he had always contended against insurrection, and had always exhorted the people to obey their secular rulers even when the latter were tyrannical. He therefore en-

treated them to make righteous concessions in fear of God rather than in fear of the peasants, and to treat their rebellious subjects with the kindness due the erring whose cause is more or less justifiable but who seek to promote it in an evil way.

To the peasants he pointed out the fact that, with the exception of their first article, their demands had nothing in common with the Gospel; and that they should not bring disgrace upon the Christian name by dragging it into rebellious warfare. Here as ever he declared that true Christians do not contend with swords and guns, but with the cross and affliction. However we may disagree with such a doctrine of nonresistance, we must admit that it was in perfect keeping and consistency with Luther's own method even when threatened with death. He had lived as he now preached, in continuous opposition to the use of force, so that there was nothing out of keeping with his own life and teaching in his declaration to the insurrectionists that if they persisted in revolt they would be worse enemies of the Gospel than the pope and the emperor had been.

But the revolt was of economic origin, and was not to be stayed by religious precepts. In their excited condition, the people gave more heed to the jingoistic Munzer than to the pacific Luther. On April 26, 1525, Munzer marched out at the head of four hundred armed followers to "do battle for the Lord." He was a popular hero, and multitudes flocked to his standard. Castles and cloisters were reduced to ashes, and their unprepared defenders went down before the irresistable mob or fled to safety.

Throughout this trying time, Luther never wavered in his original stand for order and support of

government. As the atrocities of the mobs increased, his denunciations of them became more bitter, for the principal and probably permanent effect of their campaign was to discredit his more worthy efforts in behalf of human freedom. He saw the certainty of its failure due to the impossibility of any success in such a fanatical undertaking; and used what influence he could exercise to effect its speedy end through the use of force by the authorities who might appropriately employ it.

In an address "Against the Plundering and Murderous Hordes of Peasants" he declared that they had merited death because of their sins; that they had sworn to be faithful to their rulers, but had broken that vow in a wanton and disastrous manner; that they behaved not like reformers, but like robbers; and that they tried to justify such conduct by means of the Gospel, miscalling themselves Christian brethren and forcing others to participate in their outrages.

He exhorted all Christian authorities to oppose these mad peasants with arms, and to use force with a clear conscience; for those who might suffer death in defense of law and order would be true martyrs in the sight of God. This was strong doctrine, to be sure; but centuries of Roman Catholic culture had culminated in social problems and antagonisms which resisted any solution other than that of the sword.

The same condition has often reappeared in history, leading to war in which the superior brute force, possessed by one or the other of the contending elements, proves the deciding factor. Recent events in Mexico show how the inequalities fostered by the essential monarchism and aristocratic sympathies of the papacy drive a simple people to armed resistance. Lu-

ther took the position at the beginning that the people had just grievances, but that their method of securing redress was wrong. Whether he was right or wrong in those conclusions is a question that may be now safely left to individual opinion.

In time the authorities were able to assemble and equip armies sufficient to cope with the fanatical hordes. On May 15, 1525, Munzer's army of eight thousand was overwhelmed at the battle of Frankenhousen in Thuringia. Munzer was captured and put to death. A few days before that, the main army of the peasants in Swabia was defeated; and one rebellious district after another was rapidly subdued with heavy reprisals for the outrages committed.

Luther again pleaded for moderation in the victors' dealings with the vanquished, and with some degree of success. But Luther's firm stand and vigorous words in the emergency had offended some of his friends and gave his enemies the opportunity to charge him with shocking barbarity. It is too often forgotten that those who made those charges and repeat them today are of that cult who made no objection when heretics were burned and tortured, not because of any act, but merely on account of their faith.

We have recently learned from the awful conflict in Europe that it is idle to talk about the "atrocities of war" for the reason that war is itself essentially atrocious and is inseparable from demonstrations of inhumanity. Centuries of Roman Catholic culture prepared the antagonisms which flamed up in Luther's time as they have done both before and since. Let us not fall into the error, cultivated by his enemy, that Luther was to blame for his consistent efforts to restore order out of a chaos caused by others.

Seldom does it fall to the lot of a human being to grapple with so many diverse problems, and solve them at the same time that he must justify his action as a leader of men. Every step in an unusual direction is yet pointed out by his eager enemies and presented with suggestions of evil motive. His marriage is the next event to which papists advert as evidence of sensuality and voluptuousness. In his own time both papists and such ill-regulated fanatics as Munzer made much of this alleged flaw in a character so far above their own as to be incomprehensible. However, none of them undertook to start any evil report concerning his relations with the opposite sex until the time of his marriage. Since then, the apologists for popery have rivalled each other in their efforts to show that there was something irregular and improper in his becoming a husband.

In fact, his life was throughout as far from one of sensual gratification as can be imagined. He lived continually in the midst of toil, strenuous application, and unavoidable excitement. All the authentic records show that his bodily requirements consisted of the simplest necessities. His associate, Melanchthon declares that no one made Luther's bed for a year before his marriage, and that it had become mouldy from perspiration. And Luther tells how he worked until practically exhausted, to fall into bed and asleep.

Suggestions of friends that he should marry received little or no consideration, although from the time of his stay in the Wartburg he approved the marriages of ministers and nuns who had renounced their vows. In 1524 he laid aside his monk's cowl, and wore a black coat in its place. By the beginning of the next year many of his friends and fellow workers had mar-

ried, and in a letter to Spalatin, dated April 10, 1525, he said: "I have urged so many others, for various reasons, to marry, that I shall soon be brought to it myself, especially since my enemies do not refrain from condemning such a step, and our 'wonderfully wise little people' daily make sport over it."

It is supposed that his father, who had never become fully reconciled to his being a monk, exerted his influence in favor of the matrimonial step which would forever separate him from monkery and restore him fully to his kindred. We have already observed that it did not take Luther long to decide upon a course of action, or to act upon it when the decision was made.

On the evening of June 13, 1525, Luther invited several friends to his dwelling to witness his marriage to Katherine von Bora, who had escaped from a cloister near Grimma two years before and came to Wittenberg where she lived in the home of the city clerk, Philip Reichenbach. The devil had slandered marriage, and Luther again defied the evil one by marrying a runaway nun. Great was the sensation and the talk among all classes. Even some of his closest friends, such as Melanchthon, were troubled; for the minds of the serious were not yet free from the horror with which such an act had hitherto been regarded. His enemies recalled the old legend according to which the Antichrist would be begotten of such a union, and slanderous tongues began to wag vigorously.

By direction of the new Elector, for Frederick had died in the time of the peasants' war, Luther and his bride remained in the monastery building which has now been deserted by the last of the monks; and Katie established a real home where that colony of fanatics had wasted their own time and the substance of their

generous supporters. There they lived down the imaginary scandal by living up to the higher ideal of a happy home; and it soon appeared that, as in other matters, Luther's character and judgment had vindicated themselves by wholesome results.

As Freytag says: "From that time the husband, the father, the citizen, became likewise the reformer of the domestic life of his nation, a pattern for filial reverence, marriage, the training of children, as well as for the social family life—the very blessings of his life on earth, of which Protestants and Catholics may alike partake, have sprung from Luther's marriage."

It was only to be expected that his enemies would take advantage of the occasion to invent and circulate vulgar falsehoods which are today perpetuated and renewed by the shameless agents of popery. To maintain the preposterous claim that the pope is the vicegerent of God, it became necessary to create the impression that his chief and most successful antagonist must have been an incarnation of the very devil.

All who agree with Leo XIII in his emphatic declaration that he, as pope, stood "in the place of God Almighty on this earth" seem disposed to establish that claim rather by befouling the opponents of popery than by attempting to prove the fitness of the popes for such an exalted office, which would be a very difficult task.

The year 1525 divides Luther's life into contrasting halves. The first half had been aggressive and characterized by fierce struggles: his remaining years were devoted more to the perfection of what he had begun and the development of those institutions which were to make the Reformation a permanent influence. In the earlier times of conflict his life was marked at

close intervals with marvellous occurrences and dramatic climaxes. In the years that follow his marriage his career was more quiet and peaceable, though the conflicts and temptations he yet had to endure were by no means few or insignificant.

His recent sad experiences did not break his spirit though they tempered his boldness and confidence. The controversy with Rome was complicated by conflict with some of his own people, the fanatical iconoclasts and those theologians who differed with him concerning the Lord's Supper. These differences divided the evangelical forces into separate camps and caused much bitterness.

But his preaching had taken hold upon the people in various parts of Germany with a power that astonished his opponents. The Elector John, and other princes, did what they could as secular rulers to further the evangelical cause; and the movement acquired a firmer foothold both in its outward organization and in its inward influence upon the people. As Dr. Rein says:

> And still in another direction the picture suffered a change. In place of the monk's cowl the habit of the citizen was assumed. Because of this the heart of the German people went out to the great Reformer. As a struggling monk he excited wonder and surprise; but, as a husband and father, he is loved and revered. In the times of conflict and development his life was productive of far-reaching consequences and marvellous occurrences; but henceforth a more peaceable career was unfolded, even if numerous conflicts and temptations had still to be endured.

First of his constructive work was the arrangement of the church services. Though much had been accomplished in this direction, the liturgical services were yet conducted in Latin. Luther established a full order of service in German, and published a new

liturgy, but without insisting upon its use. His ideal was a service free from rite and ceremony and consisting simply of Scripture, preaching, and prayer; but he realized the attachment of the people to the accustomed forms, and felt no desire to make radical changes save insofar as the fundamental differences of evangelical doctrine made it necessary.

His next labor was for the reform of the parishes, and for such a reorganization as would make for the material and spiritual welfare of the people. To accomplish this he addressed the Elector, reminding him of the two pressing needs which demanded the order and oversight of the ruling civil authority; namely, the maintenance of churches and schools, and the reform of civil administration.

By 1527, inspectors of monasteries and endowed institutions were at work in Thuringia, and the beginning of a public school system was under way. In the meantime the hostile papist emperor had too much trouble from other sources to undertake the enforcement of the Edict of Worms. France and Turkey required his attention; and an imperial Diet at Spire, in 1526, passed a resolution directing the German princes to use their own judgment concerning the matters involved in the ecclesiastical controversy until a general or national council of the church could be held.

In January, 1527, when his first-born, Hans, was but a few months of age, Luther suffered a severe ailment which began with a violent rush of blood to the heart. The stress and strain of hard work, excitement, dangers, and lack of care; were beginning to show their inevitable effect. Tortured in body and mind, he wrestled for days with the disorder which brought him close to death.

In addition to his own sufferings, he was depressed by the presence of the plague which had broken out in Wittenberg; and his boy, Hans, was also severely ill. In the midst of these afflictions, Luther so far recovered as to resume his labors, and to compose that soul-stirring hymn, "Ein Feste Burg Ist Unser Gott," the first stanza of which is rendered into English by Dr. Swartz as follows:

A mighty stronghold is our God,
A sure defense and weapon;
He helps us free from every need
Which hath us now o'ertaken.
The old angry foe
Now means us deadly woe;
Deep guile and great might
Are his dread arms in fight—
On earth is not his equal.

Before the end of the year the plague had subsided, little Hans had recovered, and the Luther family was further enlarged by the birth of Elizabeth. In the following year Luther took direct charge of the inspection work in Wittenberg and vicinity. He found the most abject ignorance among both people and clergy, and a lamentable lack of schools for the correction of that condition.

In 1529 he prepared the catechisms, in the preface of one lamenting the prevalent ignorance concerning Christian doctrines and the unfitness of the clergy to give the needed instruction. In the same year he attended the conference of Rome's opponents which assembled at Marburg upon the call of the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

The friends of the Reformation had divided into two hostile bodies, part of them under the leadership of Ulric Zwingli, the great Swiss reformer, who had

developed an independent Reformation movement in Zurich which had gained many followers. Fundamentally, Zwingli and Luther were agreed, but they were sharply divided in regard to certain theological questions. Zwingli denied the presence of the body of Christ in the Lord's Supper, while Luther maintained that the presence and distribution of the body was essential to faith.

Many treatises had been written by the supporters of the conflicting views, and those who saw the desirability of a united Reformation, now hoped that differences might be so adjusted as to present a solid front to the threatening forces of the papacy. Luther had little faith in the enterprise, and accepted the invitation to participate with reluctance; but Zwingli was hopeful, and expected a working union to be effected even if doctrinal differences remained.

When exhausted discussion brought the disputants no nearer to agreement, Zwingli and his companions suggested that they should at least acknowledge one another as brethren. But the unyielding Luther rejected all advances with the declaration to Zwingli, "Your spirit is different from our spirit;" and with the further irritating exclamation, "I am surprised that you are willing to recognize in me, who regard your teaching to be false, a brother. It cannot be that you think very highly of your own doctrine."

Still striving to establish the community of interest which should have been effected, Bucer then said, "Take your choice! Either you will acknowledge no one as brother who may deviate from you in a single point—in which case you have no brethren, not even in your own party—or else you recognize some who differ from you, then you must also acknowledge us." This,

with the exhortation of the Landgrave that they should not withhold the fraternal feeling which they owed each other as brethren, only won from Luther the astounding declaration that he would not deny his opponents the love which he also owed to all his enemies.

Hopeless as possibility of any agreement appeared after what had been said, fifteen propositions, called the "Marburg Articles" were actually drawn up and signed. The fifteenth article dealt with the mooted question of the Lord's Supper, and set forth the faith of both factions as far as they were identical.

The conference was dismissed when a contagious disease broke out in the city, and it was hoped that a fraternal union might be perfected at some time in the future; but that desire was doomed to disappointment though numerous conferences were held in after years.

On Feb. 21, 1529, a Diet convened again at Spire to devise ways and means for suppressing heresy. Preparedness against the Turks was also made a subject for discussion and action. The majority of the members gave less attention to the common enemy of their country and of Christianity than they did to suppression of the Reformation.

They annulled the decree of the previous Diet at Spire, which pledged each member to act in conformity with his obligations to God and to the empire; and resolved that all who had heretofore abided by the Edict of Worms should continue to do so, and that other princes and rulers should refrain from further innovations. There should be no further abolition of the mass, no interference with attendance thereat, and none should harbor or protect the subjects of another ruler when they became fugitive heretics.

This was a serious blow to the progress of the

Reformation; and the evangelical members of the Diet prepared and presented a solemn protest against it. It is from that protest that the term Protestant is derived. The main items of their protest were, that it was unnecessary to rescind the action taken at the previous Diet which granted freedom of action until a general council of the Christian Church should convene; that the Protestants desired to remain loyal to their emperor, but that the questions at issue had to do with the welfare of their souls and did not concern civil matters; that only a general council of the church, free from the pope, could definitely decide religious controversies; that no such council had been provided for, but that it is proposed to forbid all who deviate from Romish practice to develop their own better views; that they cannot obey such a command because conformity would be equal to acknowledgement of error; and that if the majority of the Diet would not take these matters into consideration, they, the Protestant minority, must protest openly before God and withhold their consent to the Diet's resolutions.

The protest was rejected on the plea that the minority had no right to protest; and nothing was to be expected but the employment of force. To meet that contingency, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse entered into defensive league with the cities of Nurnberg, Strassburg, and Ulm. But Luther was again immovable in his opposition to warlike measures as a means of promoting the Gospel. He advised all to place their faith in the help of God, and not upon the wit or power of man. Luther looked forward to the coming Diet at Augsburg in the hope that the emperor would there "adjust all things in a friendly manner."

This Diet at Augsburg had been called by the em-

peror to convene April 8, 1530. Prior to his departure to attend the Diet, the Elector met Luther and a number of his friends at Torgau, a town about twenty-five miles southeast of Wittenberg, where it was agreed that articles should be prepared for presentation to the Diet which should clearly set forth the evangelical doctrines. It was also decided that they should prepare to accompany the Elector on his journey.

This was acting in good faith and in keeping with the announced purpose of the Diet, which was declared to be called that "the differences and dissentions in the holy faith and the Christian religion may be treated and settled" on the basis that "the opinions and doctrines of each party were to be heard in all kindness and good will, and thus by comparison and perfect understanding to be reduced to one only Christian system."

One might think from such language that it was the emperor's intention to treat both parties with equal consideration; but it was his determination to assert the superior rights of Rome as firmly as ever. His design in using such fair words was to accomplish his purpose, and yet avoid internal war.

The Elector and his party now proceeded to Coburn, accompanied by Luther who remained at the Coburg Castle since he was still an outlaw and probably could not have obtained a guaranty of safety had it been desired. From there the Elector, and others of the party proceeded to Augsburg distant about four days journey. On the night of April 22 Luther was installed in the castle which overlooks the town of Coburg.

The largest building of the group was placed at his disposal, and we can think that he fared well from

letters written to friends in which he praised its attractiveness and described a cluster of trees beneath the window of the room he had chosen, where the daws and crows were holding "an imperial diet." Following the fancy, he wrote:

I have not yet seen their emperor, but the nobility and the commoners are constantly in sight. They are not very elaborately attired, but plainly in a single color, all alike black, with gray eyes. They all sing one and the same song, and yet with a pleasing difference as between old and young, great and small. Nor do they regard the palaces and halls of the high and lofty, for their hall is arched by the beautiful and far-reaching heavens, and their floor is the meadows inlaid with fine green branches, and their walls extend as far as the end of the world.

They care nothing for horses and armor; they have feathered wheels that aid them to escape from the range of guns. They are great and mighty lords, but what they have resolved upon I do not as yet know. This much, however, I have understood, by means of an interpreter, that they have in view an extensive foraging expedition against wheat, barley, oats, and other varieties of grain, and many of their brave knights will execute valiant deeds. And I am seated here in the presence of this imperial diet, to hear and see, with love and pleasure, how the princes and lords and all other orders of this empire sing so happily and live so contentedly. I wish them good fortune and welfare that they might all be transfixed on a hedge fence! I imagine these are the sophists and papists, with their preaching and writing, whom I must have about me in a throng, in order that I may hear their lovely voices and sermons, and behold how useful they are to consume everything on earth, and impudently to bid for the whole world.

With the aid of an amanuensis and another companion, he here proceeded with his work as soon as books and materials had been received from Wittenberg. Among other labors, he continued the translation of the prophets, the Psalms, and an edition of Aesop's Fables which he wished to "prepare for the young and for the common people, to whom they might be very useful."

His work was interrupted by a return of sickness lasting several weeks. On June 5 he received a letter

stating that his father had died at Mansfield on May 9. Luther was profoundly affected, and declared that all he was or had was the gift of the Creator through his father. His mother died scarcely more than a year later, on June 30, 1531.

Luther kept up a lively correspondence with his family, and with friends both at Wittenberg and Augsburg. At Augsburg Melanchthon and associates were busily engaged in the preparation of a defense and confession of faith to be presented to the Diet. Melanchthon was a finished scholar, and something of a diplomat; and the document on which he was engaged presented the evangelical teachings as agreeing with the universal teachings of the church while the Protestant reforms were but the correction of certain abuses and lapses from the original doctrine.

We may be sure that Melanchthon abated not one jot or tittle of what Luther regarded as essential, for when the latter examined his work, he gave it the following approval: "It pleases me right well, and there is nothing I would change or revise. Nor would it be expedient for me to do so, for I cannot tread so gently and quietly." It seems, however, that Melanchthon needed the heavier tread of Luther, for the former had suffered such anxiety concerning the proposed confession, from his bodily ailments, and from the threats of his enemies, as to be troubled with fears and misgivings.

And Luther wrote to reassure him, saying that his doubts and sorrows were caused not by the greatness of the work but by the greatness of "our unbelief." "Why should you trouble yourself? Is our cause false? Then let us retract. But if our cause be true, do we

not make Him to be a liar who, with so many promises, commands us be still and patiently wait?"

In another letter, approving the finished work, he says: "If we fall, then Christ falls with us—Christ, the ruler of the world. And if He should fall, then I would rather fall with Christ than stand with the emperor." Whatever other faults may be attributed to Luther, there can be no discount placed upon his wonderful faith which stood in every presence and in every danger like a mountain of granite.

On June 25, 1530, the Protestants' confession, known as the Augsburg Confession, was read to the emperor and his Diet in the German language. Luther's only regret was that he could not be present to participate in the proclamation of Christ by his followers by means of such a creditable document. It was evident, however, that all it represented was to be rejected by a strict party vote of the Roman Catholic majority with the equally partisan approval of the emperor.

It was therefore the desire of Luther, and of his friends at Augsburg that the latter should retire from the conference and return home. But their request for permission to do so was refused by the emperor until the refutation, in preparation by Roman Catholic theologians, had been read. They remained, and the document, setting forth the papist side of the controversy, was presented to the Diet on August 3. Notwithstanding his former announcement that the opinions of both parties should be heard and compared, the emperor now demanded that the Protestants should consider themselves refuted, and submit to Rome without further discussion.

The authorities at Rome were urging the emperor

to proceed vigorously, but he did not feel equal to all that a resort to force would precipitate. His caution increased to disturbed surprise when the Landgrave Philip left Augsburg on August 6 without permission and even in violation of the imperial command. Realizing the trend of the whole procedure, and knowing the pressure constantly exerted by Rome upon the emperor, he hurried home resolved to organize his following and oppose force to force in case of necessity.

This turn in affairs caused the emperor to order that further attempts should be made to reach an understanding; and Melanchthon was inclined to make some concessions. Here again Luther's unyielding faith and invincible courage saved the day. He wrote Melanchthon as follows: "I hear that you have undertaken a marvellous work—to unite the pope and Luther. But the pope will probably decline, and Luther begs leave to be excused. See you to it that your whole work be not thrown away. If you can succeed in accomplishing this thing against the will of both interested parties, then I will soon follow your example and unite Christ with Belial. Luther is free, and the Macedonian (Philip the Landgrave of Hesse) is free. Be courageous and contend manfully."

Thus stimulated, Melanchthon and his associates maintained their position, and the Augsburg meeting dissolved without definite result. The evangelical princes maintained their protest, and the emperor granted an interim for further consideration until April 15, 1531. The respite was accepted as a victory by the Protestants who were emboldened by success to further protest against the papist claim that their Confession had been refuted.

In October the Elector John, and his party from

Saxony, departed by way of Coburg; and Luther again returned to Wittenberg. The Elector's parting words, addressed to the emperor, show how the princes were beginning to feel some of the unconquerable spirit that Luther had imparted to them. Said he: "You will find me in all things to be a true and peaceful prince; but you will never be able to alienate me from God's Word. For I know most assuredly that the doctrines contained in our Confession will prevail against the gates of hell."

The Protestants made use of the opportunity to organize what is known as the Smalcald League which was formed at Schmalcalden in Hesse in December, 1530, and was ratified by the contracting parties in the following March. At the same time Luther published a "Warning to My Beloved Germans" in which he advised them how to conduct themselves in case the emperor, instigated by the papacy, should begin war against the Evangelical party. He said, "I will incite no one to war on rebellion, but alone to peace; but where our devils, the papists, will not preserve peace, preferring war, I desire to have it publicly understood that I have not done this, nor have I given cause to do it, but they have desired it. Their blood be upon their own head. I am not to blame and have most faithfully done my part."

Much as Charles might have desired to stamp out Protestantism and extirpate the heretics from his realm, he could not think of attempting it at this time; for he was busied with external troubles, especially with the Turks. This condition extended beyond the date, April 15, which has been fixed as the time limit for the submission of the Protestants who were now leagued together in preparation for any event.

The appointed time passed by without action,

though the papacy was successful in defeating the Swiss Protestants at the battle of Kappel, October 11, where Zwingli was killed. Again the Turk proved a help in the time of trouble, for the Sultan was preparing for another onslaught upon Austria; and the times demanded a union of Christendom against the invading Moslem.

The emperor found it necessary to recede from his intolerant position; and ratified the agreement which was concluded at Nurnberg, July 23, 1532, by which the decision of all religious differences was postponed until the meeting of the expected council.

On Aug. 15, 1532, the Elector, John the Constant, died, and was succeeded by John Frederick the Magnanimous. Luther delivered his funeral sermon, and that steadfast supporter of the Reformation was buried in the Castle Church at Wittenberg beside the former Elector Frederick. Luther declared that wisdom had died with Frederick the Wise, but piety with the Elector John.

At this time Luther was again afflicted with grievous bodily ailments. The continuous strain of an active life amid dangers was beginning to have its inevitable effect. Although preserved to labor yet for fourteen years, the sun of his career had passed the zenith, and its decline became apparent in recurrences of prostration and severe suffering.

The new Elector was in perfect sympathy with Luther and his cause; and, together with his wife, did all in their power to assist the Reformer and his family. Luther's translation of the Bible was printed in 1534. This translation into the language of the people, and its rapid multiplication by means of the printing press,

brought it within reach of millions to whom it had hitherto been a closed volume.

In that same year, Paul III became pope; and, at the continuous solicitation of the German emperor, called the church council which convened at Trent in 1545. Preparatory to that event, Pope Paul sent his legate, Vergerius, to confer with Luther and others concerning the council and a satisfactory place for holding it.

Vergerius arrived at Wittenberg, accompanied by an impressive retinue, in November 1534. An account of his meeting with Luther, preserved in the old records, reads as follows:

On Sunday, following All Saints' Day, Dr. Martin Luther was summoned to an interview with the papal ambassador, who entered Wittenberg on the previous evening with twenty-one horses and one donkey, and was hospitably received and entertained by the commandant of the castle. On Sunday morning early Luther sent for his barber. When he had arrived he asked Luther, "Doctor, how comes it that you desire to be shaved at so early an hour?"

Luther replied, "I am called to meet the ambassador of his holy father, the pope; hence, I must prepare and adorn myself to appear before him as if I were young; then the legate will think, 'The deuce! if Luther in his youth has done us so much mischief, what may he not do hereafter?' "

After the barber had finished his work, Luther put on his best clothes and hung a precious jewel about his neck. Thereupon. the barber said, "Doctor, that will make them angry."

Luther responded, "It is for that very reason I do it. They have more than angered me. Serpents and foxes must be treated in this manner."

The barber then concluded, "Well, Doctor, go with God's peace, and may the Lord help you to convert them." To which Luther replied:

"That I will not do; but it may well happen that I shall read them a lesson and then dismiss them."

With his friend, Bugenhagen, Luther rode to the castle in high spirits, jocularly remarking on the way, "Behold, here is the German pope and his Cardinal Pommeranus." When they had exchanged salutations

with the papal ambassadors, numerous matters were discussed including that of the long-desired and much talked-about church council, in the course of which Luther told them:

> You are not in earnest about calling a council; it is only sport on your part. But even if a council should be held, you would talk about hoods and tonsures, eating and drinking, and similar fool-work which we know beforehand, and which amounts to nothing. But about faith and righteousness, and about other useful and necessary questions, how believers may live in a harmonious faith and spirit—about such questions nothing would be said, for such things do not concern you. We have no need of a council, for we are led by the Holy Spirit unto certainty in all things; but other poor people who are oppressed by your tyranny may need one, for you do not know what you believe. But if it pleases you, by all means call a council; I will attend it, please God, and even if I knew you would burn me at the stake.

"In what city would you have the council convene?" asked the legate.

"Wherever it pleases you, be it in Mantau, or Padua, or Florence," was the reply.

"Would you go to Bologna?"

"To whom does Bologna belong?"

"To the pope."

"Great God! has the pope also seized Bologna? Yes, I will go there."

When the legate remarked that the pope would be willing to meet him in Wittenberg, Luther said, "Very well, let him come; we shall be glad to see him."

"But how would you like to meet him," blustered the legate; "with or without an army?"

"Just as it pleases him; we shall be ready to receive him in either way," replied the calmly confident Luther.

Ten years later, this same legate, Cardinal Vergerius, became a Protestant and a bold opponent of the

papacy, so Luther may be awarded the victory in that encounter so different from previous ones in which his life had been ever in danger.

While these negotiations for a council were attracting general attention, the Protestant cause was progressing. However, there remained a lamentable division among the champions of the Reformation due to differences concerning doctrine. The conference at Marburg had failed to unify the Protestants who now felt the need of union more than ever; for, since the Diet of Augsburg, there had been an alignment of both sides which might result at any time in an appeal to arms.

Luther realized the weakening effect of discord and lack of agreement, and acknowledged it as follows: "The gates of hell, the entire papacy, the Turks, the world, the flesh, and the devil, could not have injured the cause of the Gospel so much as these dissentions." He therefore showed greater inclination for Protestant union than he had in the past, though seeming to rely more on the mellowing effects of time than on immediate action for the desired results. He was convinced that mutual conferences and a gentle pacifying of excited elements would afford the best opportunity for suspicion and resentment to subside and open the way for a genuine and lasting union.

In pursuance of that plan, he opened negotiations with several South German cities in the autumn of 1535, proposing a conference at Eisenach in the following spring. The response was both favorable and enthusiastic; and such cities as Strassburg, Augsburg, Meiningen, Ulm, Esslingen, and Frankfort sent their representatives. Luther being again so afflicted with the return of ill-health that he could not make the

journey to Eisenach, the delegates proceeded to Wittenberg where they arrived in May, 1536.

The conference happily reached an agreement which was reduced to writing and formally adopted as the "Wittenberg Concord." By this the Augsburg Confession and the Augsburg Apology were accepted by all as their common confession of faith. This united all the German Protestants with the exception of the Swiss who did not participate and who adhered to their former position.

At the same time Pope Paul III was preparing for a general council, to destroy the "Lutheran pest," which he called to meet at Mantua. To prepare the Protestant cause for this crisis, the Elector asked Luther to carefully consider the evangelical articles of faith so as to determine at a conference to be held at Smalcald what concessions might be made to the papists, and wherein the original contentions of the Reformers should be maintained.

In these "Smalcald Articles" Luther declared that the pope is not the head of Christendom, either by divine right or sanction of the Scriptures, for that office belongs solely to Jesus Christ. The Elector was delighted with Luther's statement of the Protestant position; and declared himself ready to endorse it before a council or before the world.

In February, 1537, Luther arrived at the place of conference where he found a large number of learned men so remarkable for excellence that many declared them far superior to any body which might assemble at Mantua. But Luther had been at Smalcald but a few days when he was again attacked by severe pains and a return of his old troubles that threatened death.

After a week of suffering, with no apparent in-

dication of improvement, he asked to be taken home in the conviction that the end was at hand. On his departure he told his friends, who were to proceed with the work, "When I am dead and gone, remember this —If the pope should lay aside his crown, if he should confess that he has erred and has plunged the church into destruction, then receive him into our church; but otherwise he shall always be considered by you as the Antichrist."

Luther proceeded in the company of friends as far as Gotha which he reached in an improved condition; but suffered a relapse so serious that he made preparations for death, dictating the following which he believed to be a final declaration: "I know, God be praised, that I have done right in attacking the papacy with God's Word; for the papacy is a blasphemy of God, of Christ, and of the Gospel. I am ready to die, if it be God's will."

But there were years of life left for the determined enemy of popery. He was able to resume his journey and reach home though much weakened, from where he sent cheering messages of encouragement to anxious friends in Smalcald, where the allied Protestants rejected the pope's invitation to his council, and told the emperor that the proposed council was not such as had been demanded so long by the imperial Diets of Germany.

They again demanded a free council, not in Italy, but in Germany; and the emperor had to make the most of his chagrin and disappointment for he was threatened again with war and could not think of pressing papal plans which might seriously weaken his empire at such a time.

Luther now resumed his many duties, and the

Reformation progressed though not without threatenings from another direction. The Dukes of Brunswick and Bavaria formed a league against the Protestants at Nurnberg in which a number of Roman Catholic princes took part. The papists of that day seem to have been as blustering as those of the present time, for they made much of the new conspiracy and declared that soon as the emperor's armies had defeated the Turks they would be led against the evangelical princes and their followers in Germany.

When these bombastic predictions were brought to the attention of Luther, he calmly observed that his Elector had a safe and secure conscience to defend himself, if necessary, against the malice of papist princes, and that he was also bound to defend his subjects; but that it would be contrary to God's work to attack the conspiring enemies since "all that take the sword shall perish by the sword." At the same time he withdrew objection to resisting the emperor if he were to make the threatened attack; for, in such a war, Charles would not be acting as emperor but as a hireling soldier of the pope.

The death of Duke George, of Saxony, in 1539, had the double effect of subtracting a powerful prince from the papal party, and of placing a Protestant prince upon his throne. George had always been one of Luther's most bitter enemies, and had two sons who were expected to be even more aggressive in case either of them should succeed their father. One of them went so far as to threaten Luther with his wrath when he succeeded to the dukedom, to which Luther made the characteristic reply: "Duke Hans had better see to it that he dies in a state of salvation; his threats cause me no

fears, for I know full well that Duke Hans will not outlive his father."

And the grim prediction was fulfilled; for the threatening Hans died in 1537, to be followed by his brother Frederick in 1539—both before their father and both without heirs. And so the possessions of Duke George were inherited by his brother Henry who had favored the Protestant cause for years. The change made the whole dukedom of Saxony Protestant.

Luther was invited to participate in the ceremonies at Liepsic with which Henry solemnly entered upon the inheritance of his enlarged dominions. He preached and conducted services, at which his hymns were sung in this city where the Wittenberg party had received such scant courtesy at the time of the disputation with Eck years before. The throng at the churches was so great that, when they were filled, ladders were reared on the outside so some of the overflow might get a sight of the wonderful Wittenbergian through the windows.

This confirmed another accurate prediction made by Luther in which he had said that he would live to see Duke George's family extinct, and to preach the Word of God in Leipsic. With the accession of Brandenburg, in 1539, through the conversion of Joachim II, Protestantism became so firmly established that the emperor ratified the resulting agreement for religious peace; and, at the imperial Diet at Spire, in 1544, found it advantageous to treat the Protestants with a marked degree of consideration.

He went so far as to agree that the Protestants should present their plans for the adjustment of religious differences to the new parliament which was to

meet at Worms in 1545. This was a distinct and decisive defeat for the pope who was violent in his criticism of the emperor for granting such a concession. It was then that Luther wrote his scathing arraignment of the papacy entitled "Against the Papacy at Rome, Founded by the Devil."

When the pope called a council to meet at Trent in 1545, and the emperor insisted upon attendance of Protestants, Luther derided both pope and emperor with such comment as this: "I know not what a curious thing this is. The pope cries out that, as heretics, we are not entitled to seats in the council; and the emperor desires that we should attend its sessions and submit to its decrees. If we consent to such a council now, why did we not submit to the lords of the councils, the pope and his bull, twenty-five years ago? First let the pope acknowledge that the council is superior to him, and let him hear the testimony of the council against him, as his own conscience testifies against him, then will we discuss the whole question. They are mad and foolish."

The Council of Trent convened in December, 1545; but without Protestant participation. The Reformation was steadily gaining German territory and becoming a national institution. In his sixty-third year, though worn by strenuous years of unceasing toil, worry, and danger, Luther could at last see the prospect of Protestantism becoming the dominant faith in his country.

For this he was duly thankful though unable to enter into the joys of triumph with such zeal as he had into the labors of its achievement. The enemy that had conquered seven popes in his time was soon to have its way with their antagonist. Weary and worn, Luther

wrote a short time before his death, "I am aged, used-up, idle, tired—tired of the world, and the world is tired of me. Hence it will not be hard for us to part, as a guest leaves his inn."

Nevertheless, he could not disregard the call of his father's friends, the Counts of Mansfield, to arbitrate between them concerning a dispute over the division of privileges and revenues. Although it took three visits to Mansfield to accomplish the desired result, he had the satisfaction of bringing the negotiations to a happy conclusion as one of his last services performed.

It was in January, 1546, that he visited the estate of the Mansfields for the third time. On the way he remarked, "When Christ reconciled the world to God He received His reward in the death He suffered. God grant that it may be the same with me when I reconcile the Counts of Mansfield."

As he approached Eisleben he became seriously ill, but quickly recovered and preached in the village as well as began the work for which he came. It seemed at first that this third effort would be fruitless, and Luther was so discouraged as to almost abandon the task; but affairs took a happier turn, and were well on the way to the satisfactory conclusion effected when he was seized with fatal illness after retiring early according to the custom of his later years.

At one o'clock in the morning he awakened in great misery, and assured his friends that the end was at hand. "I shall now die in Eisleben where I was born and baptized." When given medicine and friends attempted to cheer him, he replied, "I am passing away; I shall give up my spirit."

After this he rested quietly without replying to

those who were addressing him as they applied remedies. Stimulants were applied, and his friends Jonas and Coelius asked loudly and impressively: "Reverend father, do you abide by Christ and the doctrine as you have taught?" To this he replied with a "yes" distinctly heard by the numerous persons present. Turning on his side he slept for a quarter of an hour when his body became cold in places and his breathing gradually failed until with one breath, deep and gentle, the career of the greatest of modern heroes was ended.

Luther died between three and four o'clock on the morning of February 18, 1546. On the following day the remains were placed in the village church where Dr. Jonas delivered a sermon. By command of the Elector, the body was taken to Wittenberg, leaving Eisleben on the 20th and arriving on the 22nd, accompanied by a solemn escort.

An immense throng met the funeral procession without the city, and followed to the Castle Church where Bugenhagen delivered an impressive sermon to a congregation of several thousands in which he related incidents connected with Luther's later life and quoted his prophecy and memorial inscription: "Living was I thy plague, and dying will I be thy death, oh pope!"

Melanchthon also delivered a funeral address in which he said: "Dr. Luther again brought to the light of day the true and pure Christian doctrines which had been obscured in so many points, and he also diligently explained them. Especially did he teach what real Christian repentance is, and what that certain, real, and constant comfort of the heart and the conscience may be that is troubled because of God's wrath against sin. Thus, too, did he declare the genuine Pauline doctrine that man is justified before God through faith

alone. Likewise he taught the true adoration of God, and how this is exercised in faith and a good conscience, and led us to the only Mediator, the Son of God, and not to pictures and images of stone and wood, nor yet unto dead men or departed saints.

"And in order that the pure doctrines might be preserved and transmitted unto our posterity he has translated the writings of prophets and apostles into the German language, so clearly and distinctly, that this translation affords more light and understanding to the Christian reader than many other large books and commentaries. And as it was said of those that rebuilt Jerusalem, that with one hand they builded the wall, and with the other they wielded the sword, so did Luther also contend against the enemies of the pure doctrine, and yet wrote so many beautiful explanations, full of comforting teachings, and also with Christian deed and counsel, assisted many poor, wandering, and burdened consciences.

"But that some have complained that Luther was too rough and severe in his writings, this I will not discuss, whether to praise or blame; but I will rather answer, in the language of Erasmus, 'God gave the world at this time, when grievous plagues and ills had gained the upper hand, a sharp and severe doctor.'

"And everyone that knew him must acknowledge that he was a very gracious man, amiable in speech, friendly and pleasing, and not at all boisterous, self-willed, and quarrelsome; and yet withal earnest and brave in his words and gestures. In short, his heart was faithful and without deceit; his words friendly and agreeable."

Luther's coffin was placed in a vault near the pulpit from which he had preached so long and effectively.

Throughout all Germany the loss of their leader was deeply felt and mourned by the people; and evidences of the affectionate esteem in which he was held by companions and fellow workers more remote have survived the centuries in letters and literary tributes. Striking among these is the letter of his widow to her sister-in-law containing the following:

> Who would not be greatly bereaved and troubled at the loss of so faithful a man as my dear husband has been, who belongs not to a single city or country alone, but who has truly served the whole world. For which reason I am in truth so deeply bereaved that I cannot reveal my great heart-ache to anyone; indeed I know not and cannot express my feelings.

How well Luther served the whole world may now be seen in the progress of Christian culture where it has escaped the blight of papal authority and repression. That is why many, four centuries after his passing, honor his name and memory though perhaps critical in regard to some of his teachings.

CHAPTER IV

The World as Luther Found It

Men of all ages, whether great or commonplace, are largely the product of the conditions surrounding them. If they conform to those conditions, as the great mass of humanity ever does, they become followers in the great march of civilization; but if they react against those conditions, so as to change them however slightly, they become leaders and are followed by many.

The conditions under which Martin Luther lived and labored were so different from those of today that they must be kept in mind to form a just estimate of the man or to place an adequate valuation upon his great work. To judge him by the standards of the Twentieth Century would be unfair to him and confusing to us.

We must remember, and continually remind ourselves, that the world, into which Luther came more than four-hundred years ago, was far different from that in which we live. If we find him stern, and rough in some particulars to an unhappy degree, let us not forget that he was born, reared, and closed his career in a world and society so crude as to be understood with difficulty in these times made comparatively smooth by four centuries of invention and general improvement.

This observation is not offered as an apology, but as a necessary means of accurate interpretation. Luther lacked some of our elegance, but more than compensated for that negligible deficiency in the possession

of an indomitable spirit and force of personality in which too many leaders of our day are lamentably lacking.

He was as inflexible and as pugnacious as those with whom he grappled and contended. The Fifteenth Century bred fighters. Popular imagination was still stirred and stimulated by those Christians who had proved their fealty to the Prince of Peace by fighting the Turk for recovery of the holy sepulcher.

From the peasant, struggling with the refractory soil and aided by a few primitive implements of his own construction, to learned doctors in the universities, there was a woeful lack of the polish and mutual forbearance which renders modern society more graceful though less rugged.

Fifteenth Century people attacked their problems with hammer and tongs, and with a vigor that despised politeness. By keeping these pertinent facts vividly in mind we need not grieve over those shortcomings, more apparent than real, upon which Luther's enemies now rely to discredit his memory and belittle his tremendous achievements.

He was of the German peasantry who were fiercely industrious by necessity. Generations of his ancestors had lived the life of toil and privation from which weaklings are automatically eliminated. For his humble parents, as for their neighbors, life was a monotonous succession of long days filled with toil, and varied only by those incidents of birth, marriage, and death that make up the simple annals of the poor.

All this was conducive to a seriousness that was hard and exacting. The elder generations regulated its affairs with the one end in view of escaping punishment for sin, and thereby earning the only rest con-

cievable. With the same purpose in mind, they applied the rod unsparingly to their children. It was an age capable of producing heroes more remarkable for force than for forbearance.

There was no trifling in the homes of Fifteenth Century Saxony. Hard work and hard thoughts begot hard natures; and, of this common quality Luther inherited a liberal share. Though perhaps unnecessary, it is only fair to say that the severity which Luther suffered, in common with the lads of his time, was in no wise due to lack of parental affection. On the contrary, it was the solicitude of these honest folk for the welfare of their children that made them so diligent in punishment.

Punishment was the universal remedy for all real and imagined evils; and it was liberally applied in this world with the laudable purpose of saving those chastised from greater punishment in the world to come. These salient facts bespeak our toleration for those inflexible moods which appear frequently in the life of the great Reformer. None has realized their influence and effect more clearly than he; for, in maturity, he often referred regretfully, though not complainingly, to the unnecessary severity of both his father and mother.

Public opinion and popular thought of the period were dominated by the one church, and controlled by priestcraft. Priests and monks were skilled in the use of deceptions that are now almost unbelievable. The German historian, Kostlin, tells of a wooden statue of the Virgin Mary bearing an infant Jesus upon her arm. This was equipped with a mechanical contrivance by the operation of which when people prayed to the child he first turned away from them toward his mother, and

only after they had invoked her as mediatrix did the infant incline himself toward them with outstretched arms.

An incident in the life of Luther's father shows how the priests of that day improved their opportunities with an eye to business; and how the devotion of that stern parent to his family frustrated the scheming of a greedy ecclesiastic. When the elder Luther was once thought to be dying, the priest admonished him to bequeath a portion of his property to the clergy. To this the honest and truly religious old man replied: "I have many children, I will leave it to them; they need it most."

If Luther the younger was "self-willed and uncontrollable," as is so often charged by papist writers, this indicates that the trait was honestly inherited from a father who could not be "controlled to the extent of impoverishing his family to enrich priestly parasites.

The moral status of the higher clergy may be estimated from part of a letter written by Luther in 1516 to his friend Staupitz. There was a rumor that Staupitz might become a bishop. Luther heard of it, and wrote him as follows:

> Those happy times are gone by when it was a fortunate thing to be a bishop. Now there is no more miserable place, with its reveling and carousing after the manner of Sodom and Rome. You see this well enough when you compare the life and work of the old bishops with those of our day. The best of them are immersed in public wars, while their homes have become a very hell of insatiable greed.

One need not wonder at the comparison of Rome to Sodom, and its effect upon bishops, when we remember that the Fifteenth Century had closed with the infamous Pope Alexander VI at the head of the Roman

Catholic church. As DeCormenin, the Roman Catholic historian, says in his "History of the Popes":

> Before the reign of Alexander the Sixth, the chiefs of the clergy were already neglectful of the care of their flock; but after the time of that pope we shall see them abandoning entirely religious discussions to cast themselves into political struggles, and turn their attention to strategy, finance, the organization of armies, fortifications, and other worldly sciences, which alone could maintain them on the dishonored chair of St. Peter. For themselves there exists but one God; it is gold; its worship, debauchery and murder. They have no longer belief in religion; it matters little to them whether a people believe in the Bible, the Evangelists, or the Koran. They despoil all, be they Jews, Christians, or Turks; they no longer condemn heretics to the scaffold from fanaticism, but from avarice. They massacre, indifferently, the rich whose fortunes they covet, and the poor whose energy they fear. We are finally entering upon a period in which the theocracy reached the apogee of its power, and in which, far from concealing its perfidies, corruption, and cruelties in the dark, it exposes them in the light of day, and even glories in them.

We may profitably give some little attention to this pope whose reign so distinguished itself as the point at which popery reached its zenith of power and its nadir of corruption; for this is the condition Luther confronted at the beginning of his career and the power with which he grappled in righteous disaffection.

Pope Alexander VI was the "execrable Roderick Borgia," whose self and family probably surpass all other high and powerful criminals of history. Some historians maintain that he was the offspring of an incestuous commerce between Pope Calixtus III and his sister; but it is unnecessary to consider this rumor concerning his origin, for the unquestionable facts concerning his life of crime are so many as to prove that this link in the chain of "infallible popes" reached the limit of all that is infamous.

Well might Luther think and declare that the

papacy was a creation of the devil, with such a horrible example as Alexander on the papal throne during eleven years of his boyhood.

From his infancy, Roderick Borgia was under the direction of skillful instructors who developed his intellect and caused him to become a brilliant advocate; but he soon showed such a preference for what was vile that his conduct interfered with his profession, and he left it to become a soldier where he might indulge his inclinations with less restraint.

He now laid the foundation for his dissolute life by entering into illicit relations with a widow, and by seducing her two daughters. When the mistress died, he disposed of the less favored elder daughter by placing her in a convent, and retained the younger by whom he had five children, Francis, Cæsar, Lucretia, Godfrey, and another who died when young.

All this happened in Spain, which country was scandalized by his debaucheries for six or seven years until he was called to Rome by Calixtus who bestowed a benefice upon the ambitious Roderick which enabled him to live like a prince.

Rosa Vanozza was the name of his mistress, who was the mother of the unspeakable Cæsar Borgia and Lucretia Borgia whose very names are the darkest blots on the pages of history. Roderick bundled his Rosa and her brood off to Venice, and went alone to Rome, as was necessary to play his new part. He here played the hypocrite so successfully as to allay suspicion and secure promotions with an income that rendered his fortune one of the largest in all Rome. In spectacular Rome the accomplished actor made rapid progress until he lacked nothing but the high throne of

the pontiff with its wider opportunities. Says De-Cormenin:

> From this moment Roderick, the debauchee student of Valencia, the advocate of robbers and assassins, the pillaging and incendiary soldier, the incestuous lover of Rosa Vanozza, thought seriously of making his way to the apostolic throne. From this time he affected the life of veritable anchorite; he never appeared in public, but with his hands crossed upon his breast and his eyes bent to the ground; his language became unctuous and serious; he visited churches, hospitals, and the dwellings of the poor, scattering everywhere abundant alms, and giving out that at his death the unfortunate should be his heirs; and, finally, he exhibited such profound contempt for wealth, and so great a love for religion and morality, that the Roman people, accustomed for so many ages to be deceived by the priests, allowed themselves to be deceived by his hypocrisy, and proclaimed him a Solomon for Wisdom, a Job for patience, and a Moses for the publication of the laws of God. * * * Never did a man know better than he how to conceal his passions beneath an impenetrable mask, nor show more constancy and tenacity in his plans than he.

All this time he was carrying on a correspondence with his mistress which has come down to us and reveals his ambitions as well as his duplicity. He refers to Pope Calixtus as "he who is called my uncle" and predicts that the "uncle" would bequeath the papal throne as a heritage. But the prediction failed, and Pius II was chosen Calixtus' successor.

Roderick had overplayed the pious part; and he now made amends by applying himself solely to increasing the immense wealth Calixtus had left him and on which he seized. He still wished to become pope; but, failing yet twice when Paul II and Sixtus IV defeated his plans, he returned to Spain but there became involved in so many rapes and murders that Henry, the king of Castile, drove him out of the country.

He now returned to Rome, bringing Vanozza and their children with him. They were installed in a

suburban palace which Borgia, now a cardinal, visited habitually and where he passed whole nights in orgies that included his daughter Lucretia as well as her mother.

Other popes came and went; and his debaucheries went unnoticed in the midst of like irregularities at the papal court. It is recorded that Rome had become an immense brothel; its streets and lanes were peopled with cut-throats; and the roads were infested with bandits to such an extent that when the cardinals wished to assemble in conclave on the death of Pope Innocent VIII, they were obliged to first place soldiers in their palaces, and cannon commanding approaches to them to avoid pillage.

Even the vatican, where the conclave was held, had to be similarly guarded. Such times were wholly in keeping with the character of Roderick Borgia, and afforded the opportunity for him to buy with gold what he could not previously win by pretense of piety. The bargaining of Borgia with the other cardinals for their support was perhaps as dirty a piece of business as was ever transacted. His wealth was such that vast estates were peddled among the electoral prelates like dollar bills in the slums of a corrupt American city on election day.

To a Venetian monk, who had obtained the cardinalate, Roderick gave five thousand ducats for his vote plus an unnameable privilege with his daughter Lucretia. In the exchange of felicitations and comment following his proclamation as pope and his eager seizing of the coveted tiara, one cardinal said to a relative: "I fear, my brother, that we are surrendered to the most voracious wolf in the world; and he will doubtless devour us if we do not hinder it by prompt

flight." And the outcome certainly justified the prediction.

No sooner was the degenerate Borgia firmly installed as Pope Alexander the Sixth than all restraint upon his fiendish passions was cast off. All laws, human and divine, were defied and trampled under foot. His mistress, Vanozza, his equally abandoned daughter, Lucretia, and his other children were removed from the seclusion of their suburban seraglio to the papal palace, and their shame paraded with his own.

One author affirms that he turned Rome into a slaughter-house, and all agree that he was avaricious, knavish, implacable, debauched, and cruel to fierceness. His ruling passion seemed to be an ambition for the elevation of his illegitimate children. Francis, the eldest, was made the duke of Candia and prince of Beneventum. Cæsar, who was destined to notoriety equalling that of his monstrous father, was made a cardinal and archbishop of Valencia, Spain. He negotiated matrimonial alliances for them with Italian princes with the purpose of securing for them the sovereignty of all Italy.

It is interesting to note that Alexander became pope in 1492, the same year in which Christopher Columbus made his first voyage to the new world and discovered the island of San Salvador on Oct. 12. Spanish and Portugese rulers were quarreling about their rights in the New World, each basing his claim upon discoveries made under his flag.

Pope Alexander agreed to act as mediator between the two countries. He divided the disputed territory, assigned a portion to each, and imposed as a fee for his judicial act that he should receive a large amount of money, and that the Spaniards and Portu-

gese should convert the inhabitants of their new territory to Christianity by persuasion or by force.

Sixty years after the publication of the papal bull, which essayed to divide and dispose of the Western Hemisphere in this high-handed manner, the Spanish missionaries of the pope's alleged religion had murdered fifteen million victims in the new countries, in obedience to that decree. It therefore appears that Alexander did not stop at making a slaughter-house of Rome. His beneficent reign made its bloody mark half way around the world.

It was now that Alexander crowned his infamies by giving his daughter, Lucretia, in marriage to John Sforza, lord of Pesaro, but retaining her in the vatican as his own mistress. This is horrible; but is a very small part of what is recorded by Buchard, Alexander's master of ceremonies whose complete record of all that occurred at the papal court contains much more too vile for the historians to repeat. Out of consideration for our readers, we omit further details of what De-Cormenin, himself a Roman Catholic, says on the written authority of Alexander's own official and associate.

It would take more space to mention the wars and political intrigues than can be used for that purpose in this book. Duplicity and treachery characterized all his dealings with the king of France who repeatedly led his victorious armies into the Eternal City and forced concessions that were evaded at the first opportunity.

Alexander delivered Zizim, brother of the sultan, to Charles VIII, but poisoned Zizim before doing so in order to obtain the price offered by the sultan for removing him from the world in any way the pope might deem best. After the French king had removed his

armies from dangerous proximity to Rome, Alexander began to despoil the Roman barons on the pretext that they had betrayed their oaths of fealty to him in submitting to the French.

He ordered the Duke of Candia, whom he had appointed General of the Church, to attack them one by one, and to seize upon their domains. Most of them, realizing their helplessness, and their inability to resist the papal army, surrendered only to be murdered and their estates confiscated. But this was but a beginning to a campaign of rapine and murder that has no counterpart in the history of crime.

The Borgias, who now made the papacy but a convenience for their own enrichment, published a law making the pope the heir of all the cardinals who had grown immensely wealthy by plundering campaigns of their own. As cardinals died, their places were sold to the richest Romans, thereby realizing additional revenue. But the expert Borgias did not stop at that. They then proceeded to poison the new cardinals and to take all their property.

Nor did they neglect the less heroic means of filling the family coffers. Alexander carried on a large trade in crucifixes, relics, and Indulgences; and sold ecclesiastical dignities, benefices and employments without consideration of whether they were vacant or not. If an already occupied privilege was sold, and the incumbent refused to vacate, poison or dagger was used to remove him.

Even those, who were Alexander's agents in such transactions, became his victims when they became wealthy enough to excite the cupidity of the Borgias. Jean Baptiste Ferrara, one of Alexander's ministers of such iniquity, was poisoned by Cæsar who coveted, and

thereby obtained, his immense wealth. This monster even caused the death of his brother Francis, and was assisted in its consummation by their sister Lucretia. By such crimes, and other excesses, too horrible to mention, Cæsar became a veritable terror, and all Rome thought of nothing so much as to placate or avoid, as it could, the fury of his destroying hand. Says Burchard: "It was so great a pleasure for him to see blood flow, that, following the example of the emperor, Commodus, he exercised himself with killing in order to keep up his tiger rage."

Cæsar's insane fury had reached such a pitch that one day he enclosed the square of St. Peter's with palisades, and ordered his guards to bring into the enclosure prisoners of war, men, women, and children; he then commenced a horrid contest with these unfortunate persons, they bound with cords, he armed at all points, mounted on a fierce courser: he shot some, hacked others with blows of his saber, trampled some under his horses's feet, and in less than half an hour he caracoled alone in a sea of blood and in the midst of dead bodies, whilst "His Holiness" and Madame Lucretia were taking their pastime in a balcony by assisting at the horrid scene. So the story is told by DeCormenin as he copied it from the diary of Burchard an eye witness.

DeCormenin says further: "These details are not the most frightful which the master of ceremonies Burchard) has transmitted to us; there are others which we are forced to suppress on account of their monstrous character." The crimes and abominations of Pope Alexander and his unnatural family excited such indignation that the rulers of Europe instructed their ambassadors to Alexander's court to unite in a

protest and a demand that he put an end to the incests and infamies which had scandalized the world.

Ambassadors from Germany, France, England, Castile, and Portugal presented these complaints, only to arouse the resentment of Alexander, who called in his guards and threatened to throw them from the windows if they dared insist upon compliance with the demands of their governments. Said he: " 'Tis a pretty thing for these despots (the kings and emperors) to reproach me with my elevation to the chair of St. Peter, and impute to me, as a crime, some robberies and assassinations; they who leave kingdoms to their children as farms are bequeathed, and who murder millions of men in their quarrels! Go, ye footmen, return to them who sent you, and say to them that I have yet much to do before I can equal them in wickedness."

There was too much truth in Alexander's arraignment of the secular rulers, but it did not detract from his own adominable crimes or those of his bastard family. When Savonarola heard of his reply to the princes, he exclaimed in horror: "What should people think of their tyrants if an Alexander the Sixth judges kings to be more infamous than himself?" These bold words, from the lips and heart of an honest man, cost him his life.

Savonarola attempted, like John Huss and others, to do the work which Luther accomplished. He preached the coming of a new era of liberty, and called his hearers to prepare for it by personal reform so that a universal republic might be established which would sweep all kings and tyrants out of power. It is true that the work begun by Luther remains unfinished; but he made the initial rise of republicanism possible by the overthrow of papal authority in Germany and

by inspiring millions with the ideals which are now growing in every soil and must some day blossom in the parliament of man, the federation of the world.

As a reformer of both political and ecclesiastical abuses, Savonarola drew upon himself the wrath and vengeance of all rulers, the pope in particular. Alexander fulminated a terrible curse against him, and sent hirelings among the people of Florence to inflame them against the preacher of impious innovations. They succeeded so well that Savonarola was mobbed, and put to the torture with the approval of all the threatened powers. Seven times his tortures were renewed to force confessions which were as promptly repudiated as soon as he was free from the agonizing pain.

To bring the matter to a desirable conclusion, Alexander sent two inquisitors from Rome who conducted a trial in their own way and condemned him to death with two of his companion disciples. The sentence was executed May 23, 1498, and his ashes were cast in the Arno. "Such was the fate," says the historian, "of this glorious apostle of liberty, who died a victim of his love for man, preaching the end of the slavery of the people, and the reign of an universal republic."

At the time that Savonarola was being tortured in Florence, Alexander was celebrating the birth of his latest offspring born to his mistress, Wilhelmina. At the baptism of this infant in the church St. Marie del Popolo at Rome, he caused a magnificent painting of his other mistress, Rosa Vanozza, to be exposed for the veneration of the faithful in place of the Virgin Mary.

Language fails to fitly characterize the depths of infamy to which this "infallible" unit of the line, who

claim to "stand in the place of God Almighty on this earth," descended. He was the father of a son called Robert of Arragon whom he had by his incests with his daughter. He married his daughter Lucretia to her third husband, Alphonso of Este, and celebrated the event with orgies that included a dance of fifty naked courtezans first alone and then with the attending cardinals. Here the narrator pauses in his story of the shameful proceedings to say that "the remaining proceedings will not bear translation."

A fitting climax to such a career came with a banquet at which Alexander had prepared to entrap and poison some of the richer Romans who had become so cautious as to heretofore elude him. They had learned to have some plausible excuse ready at all times for declining all invitations to dine at the vatican. Alexander secured the use of a villa belonging to Cardinal Corneto, and summoned the guests to that place, sending his own steward, skilled in the use of chemistry, to arrange for the banquet.

To this steward, Alexander confided two bottles of wine with express instructions to lay them aside that he might obtain them readily when given the signal to pour out their contents for the guests. The intended victims walked into the trap prepared for them; but the poisoned bait was not handled with the usual care and success.

It was in August and very warm when the arch-poisoners, Alexander and Cæsar, arrived after a long walk at the villa so fatigued that they called for refreshments. A domestic went to the pantry in the abscence of the stewart, procured a bottle of wine, and served a glass to each. Alexander emptied his glass at a single drought. The abstemious Cæsar mixed his

wine with water, and thereby escaped the full force of the poison.

They had scarcely swallowed the poisoned wine when both were seized with severe pains. The domestic had given them the wine which the steward had laid aside for the intended victims of the banquet. Alexander went into convulsions, and was carried to the palace where he died before morning. Cæsar suffered horribly for months, and finally overcame the effects of the poison.

While writhing in agony this diabolical son of a devilish father preserved his presence of mind, and issued orders on the death of the pope to close the gates of the vatican, and caused the keys of the apostolic treasury to be taken by force from the cardinal treasurer, by the use of which he appropriated to himself the gold, silver, and precious stones which it contained.

The pope's body was placed on exhibition as usual, but its swollen condition and the infectious ordor it exhaled was so nauseating that the most fanatical refrained from kissing the feet or hands as was then and is since the custom. By evening the stench was so unbearable that arrangements for the funeral were hastened. No priest, cardinal, or other officer of the court was willing to assist at the burial; and the body was abandoned to the carpenters and porters who placed it in a misfitting coffin and hurried it to a tomb already prepared.

It is claimed by the apologists for popery that the reign of Roderick Borgia, Alexander VI, was one of the happiest for the Church of Rome, for Providence permitted neither schism nor heresies to arise during his pontificate. It is further declared that if God has

willed that incestuous, sodomite and murdering popes should sometimes occupy the venerated chair of St. Peter, it is to show mankind that the preservation of the "only true church" does not depend upon the vices or virtues of its ministers.

It is scarcely necessary to comment on such a life as we have reviewed, or upon the sophistries of those who use such argument to remove the indelible stain it left upon the papal system. It affords an insight into the times and into the rotten institution with which Luther was soon to grapple and hurl back from its strangle-hold on awakening civilization.

Alexander VI is not the only pope whose vile life belies his profession; and this much of his career is presented here for the one purpose of showing the corruption and putridity present at the very heart of Roman ecclesiasticism when the monk of Wittenberg began to question its authority and preposterous claims.

We have already seen that Luther was not the first to protest against the corrupt practices of popes and clergy. His distinction lies not in his being the original opponent of popery, but in his being the first to challenge and combat the papacy with any considerable degree of success. Long before his time, the plain people of Germany and of other countries had complained of papal and clerical immorality. From time to time, leaders arose to voice that complaint but only to subside under suppression that stopped at nothing short of torture and killing.

Time and again the people, driven to desperation by the avarice and arrogance of ecclesiastical authorities, would rally around some promising leader, such as John Huss the Bohemian reformer, but were beaten back into subjection and rendered more miserable than

ever when compelled to witness the torture of those in whom they had placed their hope of relief. It is well to remember that there was wide dissatisfaction due to the tyranny of the papal monarchy and the encroachments of its rulers and agents upon the political rights and civil life of the people.

The success with which Rome retained its privileges in the face of such shameful abuses was due principally to the political power the papacy had acquired by making itself necessary to secular rulers of every magnitude. The petty prince or the magnificent emperor, who wished to plunder his subjects and escape their active resentment, found a working agreement with the all powerful papal system to be the best means of attaining those ends. By complying with the demands of popes and priests, secular rulers secured their service and influence in dealing with their subjects when they became rebellious. And thus it was that the rulers made common cause with the clergy in hunting heretics and rebels.

The power of this combination was enhanced by the gross superstitions inculcated by priests which made the people dependent upon them for relief from goblins, witches, and imaginary evils innumerable. With the worship of saints the people associated a belief in diabolical powers which were thought to menace the living as well as their souls after death. Sorcery and the practice of witchcraft were so firmly believed in by the simple people that they could not dispense with the services of priestly exorcisers. The witches were representatives of Satan, and could be escaped only through the aid of the priests who were the representatives of God.

It was but natural that the priests, who were but

slightly superior in intellect and religious attainments, took advantage of this need, and utilized it to their own selfish purposes. The prevalence of superstition is further indicated by the fact that Luther's mother believed in witches, and complained that she suffered much from the enchantments of a certain neighbor.

When Luther became a preacher in the church at Wittenberg, his sermons contained frequent attacks upon these persistent notions. Astrology, witchcraft, saint-worship, religious pilgrimages, and the popular beliefs concerning lucky and unlucky days, omens, signs, and charms, were treated so vigorously and extensively as to leave in their text much interesting information concerning the popular beliefs of the time.

Strange to say, even Luther did not deny the existence of witches. Everybody believed in them; and, to that extent, he shared in a prevailing superstition that was questioned by none. But he did speak disapprovingly of the excesses to which the belief in witchcraft carried so many; and tried to distinguish between its genuine and spurious manifestations. It is well to remember that even such limited opposition to what was generally believed was so much more than unusual as to be exceptional.

Religious relics had a like hold on the popular imagination. Frederick, Elector of Saxony, who was not inappropriately called The Wise, was a tireless relic hunter; and his castle church contained thousands of these objects gathered at much trouble and expense from all parts of Christendom. A catalogue of them, illustrated with drawings by the famous Wittenberg painter, Lucas Cranach, is still in existence.

Among the items of this particular collection was a lock of hair said to have been from the head of St.

Elizabeth; part of the head of St. Euphemia; a tooth of St. Beatrice; a piece of St. Juliana's leg; and many hundreds of like gruesome articles accumulated with the zeal shown by a modern art collector in obtaining valuable pictures and statuary.

Latin was the language of the learned; and the vernacular, destitute of a literature to give it form, was regarded as mere peasant jargon and spurned with pedantic contempt by the cultured. The philosophy, taught in the universities, was wedded to tradition; and its teachers abhorred any suggestion of departure from the fixed forms of Scholasticism and Romish dogma.

The favorite diversion of the intellectuals, and a most honorable occupation of learned doctors, were debates which resembled pitched battles over hair-splitting questions of theological speculation. It was customary for the leading controversialists of one school to champion a certain view and set of related principles, to reduce them to written theses, and to post them with a challenge to disputation.

Luther's publication of his Ninety-five Theses on the door of Wittenberg cathedral was in keeping with this custom; but, on that occasion, the questions raised were so practical and far-reaching as to place popery forever after on the defensive.

One class of intellectuals, called the Humanists, were so influenced by the Greek thought that appeared in Western Europe as a result of the Renaissance, that they began to break away from the traditional philosophy; but their ideas had so little effect upon the masses that Rome found it more profitable to tolerate them than to risk the uproar which would have followed any extensive attempt to repress them. The artistic tem-

perament predominated among the Humanists; their ideas were mostly for aristocratic consumption; and Rome could well afford to let them alone so long as they made no attempt to stir up the people.

Some of these Humanists were attracted to the Reformation when it was new; but gradually withdrew into an attitude of dignified neutrality when it became apparent that the Reformation was seeking practical results rather than academic culture and speculation. It so happened that while Luther busied himself writing and circulating German tracts destined to turn the tide of human thought, the Humanists contented themselves largely with architecture and the composition of Greek poetry.

Those literary aristocrats were not slow to express their contempt for monkish and clerical barbarism; but viewed the evils which Luther attacked as inevitable and scarcely worthy of their attention. Their intellectual snobbishness reacted upon themselves, and barred them from participation in the great work to which they might have contributed with credit—the creation of the German language.

Over all these classes and conditions of men, Rome ruled and prescribed the manner of their life, motion, and being, from affairs of empire to baptism, marriage, and burial. All dreaded Rome's anathemas; and avoided them by submission.

Papal authority was supreme. Rome asserted its divine right to give crowns and to take them away. Emperors were its vassals. Nations dared not offend it. Only those who were active in its support and defense, against every critic and every questioner of its authority, were in a position to prosper or enjoy the blessings of peace.

The papal system was all-powerful and everywhere present. Its priests and monks swarmed in every community, all sworn to maintain the pope's prerogatives at every point on peril of damnation. And these myriad agents were the more powerful because their persons were held sacred and immune from punishment for any offense save lack of fealty to the corporation they served.

So secure were priests and monks from the punishments prescribed by secular law and government, that many assumed the clerical character for no other purpose than to screen themselves from the penalties they had earned. One reason for the excessive number of monks was the large class who entered monasteries to escape the consequences of their crimes.

And over all this vast, world-controlling system, that fostered crime and protected criminals in the name of religion, sat its autocratic ruler and absolute dictator on his throne, the pope of Rome, alleged vicar of God though often as depraved and besotted as the vilest criminal, and seldom equal in moral virtue to the average citizen.

We have already described how Pope Alexander VI had scandalized the world with his orgies and crimes at the close of the fifteenth century; and how he threatened to throw the ambassadors of the European powers from the windows of his palace when they protested against his conduct. This goes to show the power of the papacy as well as its depravity.

Four hundred years before that scornful defiance of the powers, Hildebrand became pope as Gregory VII; and, at that distance from the period under consideration, demonstrated the power a pope might exercise over the highest and mightiest of the earth.

Henry IV, one of the "Holy Roman" emperors, quarreled with Gregory; and convened a council of German prelates at Worms, where Luther so long afterwards bearded the papacy in one of its strongholds. Henry caused the assembled prelates to declare the pope deposed.

To this, Gregory replied with papal anathemas and the sentence of excommunication. The effect was to cause Henry's adherents to desert him in such numbers that a reconciliation with the pope was necessary at any cost. Eluding those with whom he was at war, Henry crossed the Alps in the worst of winter, accompanied only by wife, child, and a few attendants. He hurried forward to Canossa Castle, where Gregory was residing with the Countess Matilda.

It was here that Henry, the highest of secular potentates, stood for three days in the snow-covered courtyard of the castle, clad in the shirt of a penitent, craving admittance to the presence of the haughty pope before the latter deigned to receive him or grant a clemency that, in itself, was deeply humiliating.

It was this same power that humbled Henry II, king of England, and made him do penance to Becket's tomb by walking with bare, bleeding feet to Canterbury and there be flogged by monks from one end of the church to the other. It was this same power which ignored the safe conduct granted by an empire to John Huss—which seized and burned him alive in the presence of the emperor who had guaranteed his safety.

What is more sublime, and what can appeal more righteously to the gratitude of an enlightened world, than the spirit of this peasant-born monk of Wittenberg who dared defy a power before which the whole

world had trembled for centuries, and whose courage broke its hold upon civilization?

And how much greater must be our admiration when we remember that Luther made no appeal to arms, the resort to which, he always condemned; but relied wholly upon his faith and the righteousness of his position. When counselled by friends, at that most critical point in his career, to not trust himself among his enemies in the city of Worms, lest he certainly suffer the same fate that befell Huss under like circumstances, the courageous Luther replied: "Though there were as many devils in Worms as there are titles on the roofs of the houses, yet I would go."

Rome has not forgotten or forgiven him. Four hundred years after those stirring events the minions of that decadent monarchy are yet patching calumny to calumny in a vain effort to regain papal supremacy. Not content with the discussion of his teachings, and a reasonable effort to meet them with argument, every emissary of the pope is intent with tongue and pen in repetition of the vile accusations invented in the past or imagined in the present.

And this is but a continuation of the treatment accorded him while living. Every conceivable means was employed to suppress the man and his message. Wherever Rome's influence could prevail, his writings were collected and burned; and he, himself repeatedly in imminent danger of the same fate. When we follow the vicissitudes of his perilous life to its close at an advanced age, we must realize that the vital and compelling truths he taught often stayed the hands of those who were disposed to destroy him and might easily have done it.

Like all beneficent reforms, which serve to reduce

the evils of the thing attacked, Luther's work was of signal service to Rome itself. Without it, the enlarging dissolution within the papacy must have resulted in its total collapse. The reactive influence of the Reformation upon Rome made it possible for the latter to persist.

But of this fact rabid Rome takes no account. The man who swept its doorstep disturbed its peace; and it hates his memory because it teaches itself to hate him—a remarkable obsession to be automatically excited by a cult which calls itself Christian. Its popes and prelates rage against him the more as they realize with each succeeding year that the thoughts and convictions, which budded under Luther's care, are growing and spreading from nation to nation with corresponding discomfiture to the pretentions of popery.

His enemies and revilers are probably more active today than ever. Rome curses him in his grave, and holds him up to exercration as the Antichrist. Fables and fictions innumerable are perpetuated and circulated with evident purpose to generate a fanaticism calculated to combat those principles of freedom which he introduced into popular thought and which have contributed profoundly to the rise of popular government and enlargement of human liberty.

Among these is a story to the effect that Martin Luther's father was a murderer, and that his removal from Mohra to Eisleben, a short time before Luther's birth, was to escape the consequences of the deed. There is not the least shred of trustworthy evidence to support this calumny which bears the tool-marks of Roman Catholic fabrication.

Moreover, Mohra and Eisleben are less than eighty miles apart; and it stands to reason that if the elder

Luther had committed a crime in the vicinity of Mohra, of sufficient gravity to cause flight, he would not only have gone further, but would have sought safety in some place under a different government.

Luther's father lived for many years at Mansfield near Eisleben where he became a magistrate, well known, and associated in business transactions with the Dukes of Mansfield. Had he been guilty, or so much as suspected, of the crime charged, we would assuredly have heard more of it than the traditions of peasants which evidently had their origin in spite and are perpetuated with a like motive.

Another story, which Luther's latter-day enemies lack the hardihood to offer, but which was circulated diligently in his time, was one to the effect that Martin Luther was literally a son of Satan. It is yet told, however, in such a way as to be taken either literally or figuratively; and is no doubt believed by those dupes who get their ideas concerning biography and history from Romish sources. Papists are taught from infancy to hate and abhor him as the arch-enemy of religion.

The breaking of his monastic vows by marriage is another item relied upon to prove that Luther was a wicked and abandoned reprobate, as though a vow, evil in itself, should remain perpetually binding. Luther's greatest glory lies in the courage with which he broke away from vows and customs when he had discovered and plainly proved their anti-religious and anti-human nature. As Dr. Seiss has said:

> Whatever else may be alleged to his discredit, and whoever may arise to heap scandal on his name, the grand fact remains that it was chiefly through his marvellous qualities, word, and work that the towering dominion of the papacy was humbled and broken forever; that prophets and apostles were released

from their prisons once more to preach and prophesy to men; that the church of the early times was restored to the bereaved world; that the human mind was set free to read and follow God's Word for itself; that the masses of neglected and downtrodden humanity were made into populations of live and thinking beings; and that the nations of the earth have become repossessed of their "inalienable rights" of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

With the approach of the four-hundredth anniversary of the day when Luther challenged Rome by the publication of his Ninety-five Theses, to be celebrated by appropriate observance on October 31, 1917, Rome's rage is renewed. Papist printing presses are busy with their latest collection of calumnies.

Not only is the papist press publishing elaborate series of anti-Luther matter, but a book of 367 pages is brought out and circulated in large quantities with the approval of the Romish censor and the imprimatur of Cardinal Farley. Its much-titled author, the Right Reverend Monsignor Patrick F. O'Hare, LL. D., calls his book "The Facts About Luther," and fills it from cover to cover with every falsehood invented concerning the long-deceased monk of Wittenberg that can be utilized in service of Rome's present purposes.

It begins with the sweeping assertion that there never was such a thing as the Protestant Reformation —that the Reformation was nothing but a "Protestant rebellion" which had "nothing in it to ennoble modern civilization." Luther is denounced as a "trickster and cheat" whose "apostasy was due to his total impotency under temptation."

He is called a "destructive genius," possessing a "titanic pride," an "unrestrained temper," and defective in "lack of personal dignity." His nature is described as "violent, despotic, and uncontrolled." He is charged with claiming liberty of conscience for himself

and denying the same liberty to others. According to the Right Reverend Monsignor, he was "titanic, unnatural, and diabolical."

Alleged quotations from nominal Protestants are offered to the effect that he was "a demon, foulmouthed and scurrilous, a master of billingsgate," filled with "self-will and coarseness." Luther's expressed desire to be his own pope is declared "a sign of the heresiarch, not the Christian."

So far as the quotations from Protestant sources are concerned, the Monsignor admits that all these same writers "continue to speak of Luther in tones of admiration." It is evident, therefore, that, harsh as their criticisms appear when garbled and detached from their original connection, their authors were not led thereby to the conclusions which the Monsignor would force from their language.

Compared with present-day standards of refinement, Luther was indeed coarse. He lived in a coarse age and among coarse people if we were to measure his people and times with a Twentieth Century yardstick. Shakespeare, and many of the older authors might be charged with the same fault with the same propriety. However, Luther need suffer none by comparison with the people of his time—not even when compared with that exalted head of Christendom in his day, the unspeakable Pope Alexander VI.

We are told that "the Reformation ended in deformation," that it threw Germany back two hundred years in its development. If this is true, then Germany must be two centuries behind Austria. Who believes it? When we find Protestant Germany and Roman Catholic Austria associated as allies in the conduct of a great war, which takes the lead in administration,

and provides the resources that have made the Central Powers a wonder to the world?

We are told that Luther was a "revolutionist, and not a reformer." He was both. He reformed and he revolutionized so far as any individual can accomplish the latter. And it is no less a compliment to call Luther a revolutionist than to call George Washington by the same appropriate designation.

When the Right Reverend Monsignor declares that Luther disgraced the Church of Rome "by a notoriously wicked and scandalous life, he utters as foul a calumny as the black heart of a pope-serving Jesuit only can contrive. The life of Luther, as obtained from clean sources, is the answer to that malicious lie.

We are told that the Reformation was the "most baneful event known to history." Were that true, then the most baneful effects must have fallen upon those nations which were most affected by it; and those nations which were the least affected by the Reformation must have enjoyed a wonderful advantage in the development of their civilization.

Do the facts fit the theory? Are Roman Catholic Austria, Spain, and Mexico, so far in advance of Protestant Germany, England, and the United States, as to warrant the assertion that the latter were poisoned by the Reformation? The Monsignor has a weakness for senseless bombast as well as mis-statement of fact. As a sample of the latter, and as an exhibition of the spirit animating the author and sponsors of the book, the following matter from pages 28 and 29 of the volume are submitted for the perusal and edification of the reader:

It is certainly high time to discern the tactics of the wolves in sheep's clothing, and have sense and intellect enough to see the sham and the fraud of men-made brands of religion with their multitudinous divisions, their contradictions, and their lies. The slime-vending, mud-slinging, vile detractors may try to hide the sham and the fraud of their unstable beliefs by well-planned and shameless schemes of attack on the Spouse of Christ, but the intelligent in the community, exercising sound judgment and viewing the contradictions and divisions of the enemy from the standpoint of truth, which they realize can never contradict itself, consider their efforts as a huge joke in presence of the Divinely established, heaven-united Church of all ages and of all peoples. Bigots come and go; they make a great splurge and bluster temporarily with their campaigns of calumny and villification, but the Catholic Church, because she is the One established by Jesus Christ, continues on in her heavenly mission in spite of the puny weaklings who endeavor to stop her progress. The Mother Church counts not her members by men, but by time alone. She has seen centuries and will see more, not changing one jot in the future, but still standing and teaching as she does today. She will live to bury all her misguided enemies. She is of God and cannot be downed or displaced by men no matter what may be their numbers, their influence, or their power. "Against her," Christ declared, "the gates of hell shall never prevail."

If the author of such frantic silliness is not mentally unbalanced, his readers are certainly exposed to that condition. Perhaps that is its purpose; but he does not stop at folly. He descends to filth, charging on page 321 that Luther was infected with a horrible disease, and exciting his hatred to such a pitch as to reveal the putridity of his own mind in a series of nasty narratives on pages 350 to 353 that are not only vulgar but obscene and unprintable by any author or publisher who has a proper respect for the reading public.

Such is the latest effort to discredit Luther as a means of knocking Protestantism and boosting popery. The book would no doubt make an excellent manual of instruction for use in the pope's parish schools, or might be sold for the profit, dirty literature usually

brings from an ignorant and debased clientele. If it is good for anything else, its additional worth is yet to be discovered.

If the world of today is widely different from that into which Luther was born, it has Luther to thank for much of the change. The Reformation fostered not only religious freedom, but political freedom and liberty in a thousand ways and places because it freed human activity to such an extent from the blight of popery.

Prior to Luther, other-worldliness was the dominant note of traditional Christian piety. The one aim of Christianity, as then taught, was to prepare mankind for another world. Luther ennobled and purified the Christian ideal of the world to come; and idealized realities by preaching the sanctity of ordinary human callings. He inspired millions with the conviction that the genuine Christian is already a saved soul, and that his life is as sacred on earth as in heaven. Thus:

> What you do in your house is worth as much as if you did it up in Heaven for our Lord God. For what we do in our calling here on earth in accordance with His word and command He counts as if it were done in Heaven for Him. * * * In whatever calling God has placed you, do not abandon it when you become a Christian. If you are a servant, a maid, a workman, a master, a housewife, a mayor, a prince, do whatever your position demands. For it does not interfere with your Christian faith and you can serve God rightly in any vocation. * * * Therefore we should accustom ourselves to think of our position and work as sacred and well-pleasing to God, not on its own account, but because of the word and the faith from which our obedience flows. No Christian should despise his position if he is living in accordance with the word of God, but should say, "I believe in Jesus Christ, and do as the ten commandments teach, and pray that our dear Lord God may help me thus to do." That is a right holy life, and cannot be made holier if one fast oneself to death. * * * It looks like a great thing when a monk renounces everything, goes into a cloister, lives a life of asceticism, fasts, watches, prays and the like. Works in abundance are there. But God's command is lacking, and so they

cannot be glorified in as if done for Him. On the other it looks like a small thing when a maid cooks, and cleans, and does other housework. But because God's command is there, even such a lowly employment must be praised as a service of God, far surpassing the holiness and asceticism of all monks and nuns. Here there is no command of God. But there God's command is fulfilled, that one should honor father and mother and help in the care of the home.

All this conflicted with traditional Roman Catholic thought then as now. Romish doctrine assumed and assumes that man is naturally bad, and must be held under strict restraint to save himself and others from his wicked propensities. For a Christian to become peacefully confident, to gain assurance that all was well with his soul, and thereby be set free from fear of eternal punishment, was regarded as most dangerous. Fear, not peace, was esteemed the only safe condition for sinful fallen humanity.

This view has heaped burdens upon the conscientious instead of removing them. Luther experienced its terrors while trying to find comfort in performing the penances and enduring the rigors of monkery. From that experience he emerged, fully and finally convinced that "the just shall live by faith," and that a state of fear makes Christian living, or ideal living of any kind, wholly impossible. Whoever is righteous for the sake of gaining reward or escaping punishment, is not really righteous; but degrades himself to the level of a spiritual bargain hunter and trader of good deeds for divine favor.

As a recent writer states it: "Rome preached the control of men to keep them from being themselves; Luther preached the freedom of men to be themselves. Unlike irreligious libertarians, Luther preached personal freedom not because he trusted in man, but because he trusted in the Gospel. He retained the tradi-

tional estimate of human depravity; but was confident that the revelation of God in the Christ, when understood, would induce the believer to do God's will. In the consistent presentation of this view, he was a prophet as well as a reformer."

The fifteenth century produced one new thing destined to be of inestimable benefit to Luther and the Reformation, and equally disturbing to the old order for centuries to come. Printing from movable types is supposed to have been invented by Johann Gutenberg, at Mainz, Germany, before the middle of the century. This invention revolutionized the art of printing and the process of making books.

By the time of Luther's birth, printing presses were operated in many of the larger towns of Germany. It was German printers who carried the art into Italy, and set up a press in Rome in the year 1476. The rapid development of printing, which followed the Gutenberg invention, afforded facilities hitherto unknown for the multiplication of books and pamphlets.

Strange to say, Germany's printing presses preceded its language. The first printing was in Latin, the language of the polite and learned; but, when Luther went into the highways and hedges to preach the gospel and its interpretation, he first translated the Bible into a German which he adapted from the provincial dialects, and caused it to be printed together with sermons and explanatory pamphlets in the vernacular of the common people.

The creation of a language is no small achievement in itself. Perhaps creation is too strong a term to use in that connection. What he did was to formulate a consistent language, readily understood by the German people, by using the desirable elements con-

tained in the numerous spoken dialects. This involved the selection of words, phrases, idioms, and constructions that seemed desirable; and the rejection of others that seemed less fitted to the purpose. It was a huge undertaking; but German scholars agree that it was done with such excellent judgment and care as to fix the form of the German language subject only to the variations by which all living languages change from day to day.

It was the printing press and movable types which made that great work practicable; and made it possible for the mass of the people to read what Dr. Luther wrote concerning the differences which had arisen between him and the Roman authorities. From that day to this the pamphlet has been a strong factor in every movement struggling for a hearing against unfavorable conditions.

When the corn laws of England became so oppressive that agitation for their repeal pushed the question to the front as a national issue, the press of England was in the hands of those who wished to maintain the old statutes. Those desiring the repeal were unable to reach the masses, whose interests were identical, with their message. Like Luther, they resorted to pamphlets; and, like him, they were victorious. The pamphlet is a weapon of tremendous force, and available to every worthy cause even when the periodical press is monopolized or muzzled. The circulation of political pamphlets in Russia from type and presses concealed and moved from place to place, is another marvellous achievement of people struggling for the freedom denied them by autocratic power.

So great is the potency of the printing press, when used in connection with the types supposed to

have been invented by Gutenberg, that the Modern Era of history is usually dated from that invention. Luther prepared the message which the printers helped to deliver. So long as books were made by the laborious process of copying with a quill, they were necessarily scarce and beyond the means of the average citizen, and libraries were comparitively scarce.

To the same degree that the enlargement of the printer's art contributed to the success of the Reformation, it added to the discomforts of Rome. Hitherto it had been easy to locate a heretic and stop his heresies by removing his head. But, with his message in print, it could go on to the ends of the earth though its author were chained in a dungeon or forever silenced in the grave.

Rome wished to avail itself of the advantage conferred by the invention, but dared not let its critics enjoy the same privilege. The Inquisition was therefore directed to deal with heretical books as it had dealt with their heretical authors. Where the authority of Rome prevailed, books were investigated to find whether they contained prohibited matter. If essentially antagonistic to the papal system or its teachings, they were gathered and burned. If they contained objectionable passages only, those passages were expurgated, and the books so altered were allowed to circulate.

Rome had long been at war with those who tried to exercise the natural right of free speech; and now that war was widened to a like campaign against the possibility of a free press. Wherever Romish influence was sufficient to accomplish it, many restrictions were placed upon the publication of books; and the papist spirit of distrust for the printed page, which had its

origin in ecclesiastical tyranny, has too often found sympathetic allies among other interests having special privileges to maintain against the growing demand for equal rights to all.

To this day the Congregation of the Index is a branch of the Curia at Rome which busies itself with the selection of reading matter for Roman Catholics, and in condemning such literature as it finds inimical to papal plans and purposes. To modern minds, which regard free and exhaustive discussion of debatable questions as the best means of arriving at satisfactory conclusions, such repressive schemes are most offensive.

And they are the more offensive because of their persistent re-appearance in some form or other. The recent attempt of Roman Catholics in Congress, to secure legislation which would invest the Postmaster-General with autocratic power to suppress a paper or magazine without redress or trial by jury, shows the old spirit of the Inquisition to be alive and active to the extent it can operate under modern conditions.

But the press, though often subjected to the imposed limitations of tyrants, has maintained a freedom of action that is remarkable when one considers how many selfish schemes and powerful interests it has helped to antagonize, expose, and destroy. It is by no means infallible. Its privileges are abused, but so is every other right and privilege. None of its possible errors is irreparable; and the errors it gives currency can be corrected from the same source. It is available to both sides of every interest and controversy, and subject to the just resentment of those it deceives as well as to the gratitude of those it informs. Moreover, its owners, managers, or operators are quite as likely

to be honest and trustworthy as other mortals would be if invested with the autocratic powers of censorship.

Censorship is wrong in principle, and therefore wrong in every detail of its application. A censor is nothing more or less than an Inquisitor with a slightly less offensive title. It was an ecclesiastical censorship that Luther contended with throughout his long contest with the authorities of papal Rome. Rome wished to destroy him and his ideas on the assumption that he and they would lead millions into error, disorganize society, and plunge souls into perdition. Four hundred years of Protestant civilization proves the folly of such narrow intolerance.

We may now look gratefully back to Luther and the strenuous time of his labors, rejoicing in the fact that he was the giant who did more than any other to free civilization from some of the heaviest loads it has ever carried—the mediaeval superstition and ignorance that upheld papal authority and held down the human race.

It is well for the world to remember its heroes, not to worship them but to cherish the memory of their service in behalf of the common good. And this is the more desirable in the case of Martin Luther; for the same enemy with which he struggled has survived the centuries, and is seeking a foothold in the New World that it has practically lost in the old.

Let us take the essentials of his teaching to heart; for they are needed by a free people in these days when all things move so rapidly that indifference to the lessons of history may easily become the forerunner of degeneracy. Consider his definition of a Christian Man:

"A Christian man is a most free lord of all things and subject to no one; a Christian man is a most dutiful servant of all things and subject to every one."

So with the citizen of a great free state: he becomes the free lord of all things by service to and consideration for all his countrymen. He cannot attain to this by subjecting himself to the pope of Rome or any other one mortal. Genuine democracy becomes possible when all men learn to dwell together in the charity of comradeship and the unity of a common Christian purpose.

CHAPTER V

The Consequence and Lesson

Luther was at once the creature of his age, and the creator of a new age. His shortcomings as an individual are too glaring to be ignored; but the benefits derived from his work by succeeding generations are too great to be clouded by personal imperfections. Without him the Sixteenth, and succeeding centuries, would have been deplorably different.

His foremost service to civilization was rendered in releasing western Europe from the incubus of papal authority. Papal power was then the chief impediment to human liberty and social progress. Crystallized popery had encased civilization in a sepulcher, and had robbed its benumbed victims of desire for release. They submitted to papal tyranny like those gladiators of an earlier age submitted to imperial tyranny who fought and killed each other for the entertainment of a pagan emperor rather than turn their swords against their common oppressor to win liberty.

Rome's ecclesiastical unity was a curse because it was a galling and repressive monopoly. By destroying what papist writers lament as a lost "Christian unity," Luther broke the power of that monopoly and opened the way to more desirable unities and diversities. The unity fastened upon the world by a tyrannical ecclesiasticism followed the similar unities imposed by such universal empires as those reared by Alexander the Greek and the pagan Cæsars.

The overworked criticism of his enemies, that Lu-

ther had little sympathy with democracy, falls far short of establishing his sympathy with its opposite. His prevailing sympathy was with the people. He was a true Humanist, not from academic considerations but from sympathy with human beings as such and without regard to forms and customs.

The breadth of that sympathy is emphasized throughout his teachings in which he laid peculiar and original stress upon the sacredness of all useful employment. He preached a piety to be exercised not so much in serving God, who does not need it, as in serving one's neighbor who does need it. And in that sympathy lay the very essence of that wide fraternalism which has inspired libertarians and true democrats in all ages.

The logical result of that attitude was rebellion against its enthroned opposite, and a religious revolution against a corrupted religion. It is well to note. however, that this religious revolution was not waged for religious liberty only, but FOR INTELLECTUAL AND POLITICAL LIBERTY AS WELL. Release of conscience and of civil government from papal domination are as prominent among the results of the Reformation as release from papal dogma. IT MADE STATES INDEPENDENT OF CHURCH, AND FREE SPEECH POSSIBLE.

Luther made his position in these matters more than clear, holding that even the Bible has to do with religion, not with politics; and that statesmen, not theologians, are the logical leaders in civil affairs. As a result clerical culture was succeeded by lav culture. and other worldliness by a revived interest in this world that made for renewed and enlarged interest in science and all practical learning.

In harmony with this was his denial of the identity of religion with asceticism and such adjuncts of monkery. Though not a preacher of democracy, he was democracy's prophet, a higher and more consequential office. In the wilderness of a papalized world it was he who first successfully resisted the materialistic jungle laws of popery, and set millions free to follow the light then dimly visible to many in their rational desire for life, liberty, and the pursuits of happiness.

How those aspirations grew until they leavened the life of Germany, and how they spread to other nations of western Europe is an interesting phase of history which cannot be discussed in the limited space here available; but it is important that we should consider the effect of the great German Reformation and its author upon our own country, its people and its institutions.

The papacy was slow in relaxing its hold upon Europe, and it took a Thirty Years War to establish the rights of Protestants to undisturbed worship even in Germany where Luther and his companions had labored so long. The fortunes of war sometimes favored one side, and sometimes the other; so that the cruelties of one victor were the excuse for retaliation when the tide of affairs turned and the oppressed became the oppressor.

As the Reformation gained place, and progressed in other European countries, those conditions of alternating supremacy were duplicated so that an era of religious persecution prevailed at the time America was being colonized. America became the refuge of both papist and Protestant although papist immigrants were far less numerous since there were always Ro-

man Catholic nations in Europe where they could find asylum.

But the Protestants, especially such radical sects as Quakers and Puritans, were less fortunate in that respect; and it was the latter who founded the Massachusetts settlement at Plymouth Rock in 1620, thirteen years after the aristocratic Cavaliers established their colony at Jamestown, Virginia. It is a remarkable fact that of all the colonies, with their varying religious preferences, prejudices, and old scores that aroused resentment and provoked retaliation, those which had suffered the most were the most liberal. To Roger Williams, driven out of Massachusetts by intolerant fellow Protestants, must be accorded the credit of establishing the first American colony, in Rhode Island, where religious freedom was a fact as well as a professed theory. How far the colonists yet were from the liberality of the present day is attested by the notorious Blue Laws of Connecticut which enforced such a narrow morality as to punish a husband who kissed his wife on Sunday.

But the colonists were all progressing from the absolute intolerance of Rome to the lesser intolerance that moves toward toleration and personal freedom. By the time their convictions had the opportunity to merge in a national Constitution, they were practically united on the proposition that religion is purely a private matter between the individual and his Maker with which popes, potentates, and States have no right to interfere.

And the Constitution of the United States conforms to that conviction. It prohibits the legislative branch of government from making any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free

exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press: and provides that no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any public office or trust.

Here was a new departure, sanctioned by the bitter experience of many faiths represented in its formulation. It was clearly the intention of its framers to so organize the government of this new country that no man could be persecuted because of his faith; and no sect could use the state or public funds for sectarian purposes. State and Church were both freed from the influence one would necessarily exert over the other were they merged to the slightest degree.

The makers of that Constitution had profited not only from the lessons taught by Luther, but had enlarged upon them; and yet the possibility of such a liberal organic law must be credited to Luther and the Reformation. Suppose Rome had retained the power it exercised at the time Luther "rebelled." We do not have to guess at the result, for we have a surviving example of popery in backward Spain where, until a few years ago Protestant denominations were subjected to such hostile discrimination that they dared not worship in public or so mark their church buildings as to indicate their use.

The liberal Constitution of the United States is possible only because Luther lived and labored for the higher ideals upon which Protestantism was based and has progressively enlarged. And, so far as the Protestant denominations are concerned, the arrangement is ideal. Quaker, Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Christian Scientist, Mormon, Mennonite, as well as Agnostic, Free Thinker, and even the oriental Pagan, follow the customs that satisfy conscience, enjoying

equal rights and free from the oppression inseparable from religious preferences and privilege.

Unfortunately, however, the country so tolerant as to be appreciated by all others has yet to contend with the same intolerance that Luther resisted so long ago. The same line of popes, still claiming to stand in the place of God Almighty on this earth, yet maintain their system with its impossible ideals and outgrown laws; and commission a horde of priestly agents in this country who grow more aggressive and daring with success in opposing THE ESSENTIALS OF PERSONAL AND NATIONAL FREEDOM.

Remember first, in the consideration of this indictment, that the papal system prides itself on its alleged perfection from the beginning—that it is so truly divine that it NEVER CHANGES. It might be better if that were literally true, for the changes it does undergo are usually for the worse. It changes somewhat as every human institution must change. Though many centuries of age, it was less than fifty years ago that it declared its popes to be infallible in their opinions concerning faith and morals. That was certainly a definite change from the indefinite and at times contradictory position taken on that proposition in preceding centuries.

But, in essentials, the papal system of today is the same papal system with which Luther grappled in the sixteenth century. It prides itself in its sameness, and even overstates it. Like a poisonous weed its growth has continued, bending only under compulsion and rising again to choke the normal growth of mankind wherever dominant or endured.

In those years it has been repudiated in one country after another until in Italy, its incubator and the

home of its popes, the papacy has been shorn of its temporal power and sulks in the vatican under the silly pretense that the pope is a prisoner. Germany, England, and Russia have defended themselves against popery by establishing state religions. Italy, France, and the United States offer a weaker defense against this persistent foe by admitting it on equal terms; and the United States is particularly vulnerable to papal scheming because of its toleration of all papal institutions whether partly religious or wholly commercial.

Those who do not follow the current events of their own time closely should not lose sight of the again-stated fact that it is the same papacy with which Luther struggled that is now trying to "make America Catholic." Remember Rome's boast, "Roma semper eadem," not because it is literally true but because it is too true. Then turn to recent edicts of popes and recent activities of their subjects in this country for confirmation of that fact, and to learn Rome's purpose in trying to pervert the American people and subvert their political and educational institutions.

The pope of Rome is a monarch who claims divine right to decide all questions on earth affecting faith and morals. As Pope Leo XIII tersely stated it, "We hold upon this earth the place of God Almighty." The pope is therefore the highest authority on earth to all who accept him as the vice-gerent of God, which every Roman Catholic is bound to do.

If this authority by divine right were exercised solely with regard to matters of religious faith, no one need care; but when the pope undertakes to prescribe what is right and wrong in connection with educational and political institutions, he goes far beyond what religion is popularly supposed to include. When he, or

his local agents acting in unison, condemn the public school system of the United States, he is striking at the very mainstay of our government and civilization.

There is no mystery about Rome's hostility toward the public school. Its motive is perfectly clear when the observer is penetrating enough in his observations to get past papist pretense and look into the true nature of this political corporation which deceives so many because it poses as a church and appears to be solely concerned with religion.

The popes, and the papal system of cardinals and lesser clergy, constitute an organization which is primarily political in purpose and activity. Its religious rites, ceremonies, and teachings are secondary and subservient to the primary object. If the reader is yet unable to accept that as a fact, let him review Rome's activities in this country and try to account for them on any other theory. The explanation that explains and satisfies enquiring minds must contain more of truth than theories that tend solely to discourage investigation.

Note, first of all, the Romish organization. At its head is a line of monarchs who differ in no essential particular from other tyrants. The present pope maintains a kingly court with imperial pomp, and exchanges ambassadors with such nations as can be induced to maintain diplomatic relations. Neither he, nor any of his predecessors, have ceased claiming their right to rule temporally as well as spiritually; and, up to within the last half-century, they exercised the same absolute rulership over a definite territory as the sultan, of Turkey, or the czar, of Russia.

The present pope would yet be exercising his temporal sovereignty over Italian territory had not the

Italian people risen in rebellion to depose the papal line of rulers and place another ruling family upon the Italian throne. Far from acquiescing in that act which expressed the will of the Italian people, each succeeding pope has asserted his right to temporal rulership in his former dominions, and has pressed that claim to the extent the Italian government would tolerate it.

At the present time those who are near enough to the papacy to speak with its approval and at its suggestion, are demanding that the pope or his representative be admitted to the European conference of powers at the close of the great war. It is certainly clear that the popes have never abdicated their once-exercised right to temporal sovereignty; but are intent on restoring their temporal power whenever and wherever a people may be induced to endorse and support it.

Like other kings and potentates, the pope asserts a "divine right" to rule. He even goes the limit of absurdity in maintaining that exploded theory, connecting himself by his own assertions more intimately with the supernatural than any other despot ever dared. The popes have surrounded themselves with an aristocracy of cardinals, comparable only to the grand dukes of Russia and the princes of other empires. Three of these prince-cardinals are resident in the United States where they supervise the operations of the system and occupy themselves with the advancement of papal interests.

Every cardinal is appointed by the reigning pope; and every pope is chosen by the aristocratic college of cardinals. Archbishops, bishops, priests, and other elements of the system are created from above without consideration for the preferences or desires of those millions who are Roman Catholics but are merely

"children of the church" without any voice in its management or in the creation of its ruling class. No more despotic organization ever existed on earth. It is the very antithesis of democracy, and logically the foe of popular government and personal rights.

It is not only in its organization that the papal system is a duplicate of the most illiberal monarchies. It has its own code of laws which it enforces in all nations to the extent national governments tolerate such high-handed subversion of their authority. The canon law of Rome conflicts with our civil laws concerning marriage, and in many other particulars to be noted more specifically.

This antagonism of papal law with American law appears more clearly in papal edicts, issued from time to time by various popes of recent years as well as in times more remote. For instance Pope Leo XIII, whose reign extended into the present century, declared in one of his encyclical letters: "It is quite unlawful to demand, to defend, or to grant unconditional freedom of thought, of speech, of writing, or of worship, as if these were so many rights given by nature to man."

It is quite true that these things are all unlawful according to the canon law of Rome; but they are not only lawful according to the constitutional and statute laws of our country, but absolutely essential to religious and intellectual freedom. Inasmuch as our whole governmental and legislative system is founded on the principle that the majority shall decide concerning the laws by which we are governed, it is clear that our present laws granting such desirable freedom cannot endure if the pope's subjects in this country ever become numerous enough to constitute a majority.

"Making America Catholic" therefore means more

than merely persuading its people to worship according to Rome's ritual. It means that Rome's canon law would prevail, and those liberal laws, which now violate the conscience of no one but papal subjects, would no longer protect non-Catholics in their religious and intellectual rights.

As a result of the experience recorded in the histories of Europe, the American people adopted the republican form of government by which the people choose their lawmakers and public officials, and thereby exert a direct influence upon legislation, its interpretation, and its administration. The American system is a repudiation of monarchism in all its forms, papal as well as imperial.

From these facts it is evident that the Reformation, inaugurated by Luther and his colleagues, was by no means finished in his time. The papacy is yet trying to re-establish its authority on the new territory of the western world; and too many nominal Protestants are indifferent to the situation.

The pope, a foreign monarch, sends his clerical agents by thousands into this country to preach religion and practice politics—to destroy popular faith in our national ideals and trick the unwary into supporting the papacy and its nefarious plans for bringing America under papal authority and Romish rule. The Reformation is not yet fully accomplished, and cannot be until popery and its dissimulating Jesuitical agents are so discredited as to abandon their campaign for the conquest of this country.

To those timid ones who may think that conquest is too strong a term to use in that connection, we would say that conquest consists in gaining control, whether by force or intrigue does not matter. If Rome, by the

arts which it cultivates, can capture the popular fancy, its conquest will be more complete than if it had invaded this country with a military force and destroyed its forts and armies. Military conquest arouses resistance that may "come back"; but corruption of national thought and ideals operates like an anaesthetic to deaden the sensibilities and degrade the spirit to conformity with its own slavery.

The only danger to this country and its people lies in indifference to Romish aggression. As a people, we wish to be fair to all the religious bodies; and we accept the so-called Roman Catholic church for what it pretends to be—a religious body laboring diligently for salvation of souls and the abolishment of sin. It is past comprehension how alert minds can so regard the Romish system, for it betrays its nature in its present activities as well as in its past history; but the distressing fact remains that many well meaning citizens cling to the idea that Pope Benedict's priests are here solely for a good and beneficent purpose.

All those who see the danger can do, is to proclaim it as they can, hoping thereby that their neighbors may be induced to look further and see more. Fortunately the spirit of such heroes as Luther, and Patrick Henry, and Paul Revere is still among us inspiring sacrifice of personal ease and selfish interests in the common cause of human progress and freedom.

With hypocritical effrontery, papal agents attack the public school, declaring it "Godless" and iniquitous in its effect. They are opposed to non-sectarian education on the pretense that religious instruction, which is eliminated from the public school so all may attend, is of paramount importance. Granting that religious instruction is of greater import than any other kind of

instruction, it does not follow that the public school is the place to give it. Common sense and the slightest consideration show that it would be impracticable to teach all religions in the public school; and, if one or more were taught to the exclusion of others, it would be unfair to all religions not included.

The public school can be conceived in, and appreciated by, none but a liberal mind. It does not lend itself to any sect or faction; but is broad enough in its organization and administration to serve Jew and Gentile, Protestant or unbeliever, and all who are in harmony with American ideals, without violence to their conscientious scruples. Why, then, this bitter opposition from the single source of popery?

The public school is republican and democratic in all its tendencies. It inspires its pupils with the noble desire for self-government, and with the self-respect that repudiates monarchism. It is a stumbling block in the way of papal conquest. Therefore popery demands schools of its own—not so much that religion may be taught in them as that the political propaganda of the popes, their claim to world-wide authority, may be disseminated and drilled into the receptive minds of youth. That is precisely what the pope's parish schools are for; and the only antidote to such papal poison is to be found in liberal education, free speech, and a free press, opposed alike in what has been quoted from Pope Leo and by his subordinates in this country.

If the public schools were so demoralizing as to be shunned by papists on purely moral grounds, why do you suppose it is that Roman Catholics are not also forbidden by their priests to teach in them? If they are essentially evil, they would surely be more or less detrimental to teachers as well as to pupils; but, in

many of our American cities the number of Roman Catholic teachers in the public schools is out of all proportion to the Roman Catholic population. The papists are there to keep better teachers out, to secure the salaries paid for teaching, and to promote popery as they can by injuring the school and misleading its pupils. To say the least, every papist presuming to teach in a public school is out of place, and should be removed as a matter of national defense and to protect youth from such unwholesome influence. The public school, which had its birth in the Reformation, needs reforming to the extent of protecting it from enemies within and without.

Next to our great system of non-sectarian schools, the press is the greatest disseminator of information and moulder of public opinion. Papers, periodicals, and books are to the older population what the schools are to their pupils. So long as these are left free to express all shades of legitimate thought and opinion, even the busy man can keep in touch with events and the various comments and interpretations bearing upon them. A free press is but an enlargement of free speech. If it is desirable for neighbors to exchange opinions by word of mouth, as a means of comparing ideas and arriving as well-considered conclusions, it is equally desirable for all matters of general interest to be discussed in print.

It is only in times of extraordinary excitement, when large bodies of citizens are intensely moved by unusual events, that publication of what the public wishes to read can do any serious damage; and those times are so infrequent as to correspond generally with the suspension of civil law and the substitution of military rule. To gag the press would be equivalent to

placing a padlock on every mouth out of fear that someone might say something that might better be left unsaid.

There is no gainsaying the fact that much which is said and printed might profitably be left unsaid and unpublished; but whatever is prohibited can be forbidden with equity only by means of written law to be impartially applied and enforced. And such has always been the American view—holding speaker and publisher responsible for whatever real damage they may do, but otherwise granting both the widest freedom of expression.

But Pope Leo tells us that freedom of speech and of the press are unlawful; and his agents in this country are doing all in their power to establish censorships of every means by which information and opinions can be made public. Especially is that true of those few periodicals which dare criticize or oppose popery and its meddling in American affairs. The old spirit of repression, which tried to silence Luther, is again in evidence to silence modern Reformers and the modern Reformation.

The Romish law is against free speech and a free press, and that law is enforced in contradiction with American law by lawless Roman Catholic mobs as well as by Rome's more astute lobbyists who seek to make American legislation conform to Rome's requirements. Papal influence is seen and felt everywhere, and usually directed against those distinctively American laws, ideals, and institutions which stand in the way of the pope's desire to "make America Catholic" and thereby establish the authority in America which Luther overthrew in Germany.

It is, and has always been, the consensus of Amer-

ican opinion that organized religion and organized civil government should be separate and distinct. We call it the separation of Church and State; and the idea was embodied in the first amendment made to the national Constitution. But the papacy is opposed to the separation of Church and State. We quote again from the encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII: "It would be very erroneous to draw the conclusion that in America is to be sought the type of the most desirable status of the church, or that it would be universally lawful or expedient for State and Church to be, as in America, dissevered and divorced."

Do not imagine from this rather mild statement of opposition to the separation of Church and State, that it is exceptional; for on the divorce of Church and State at the formation of the Portugese republic, Pope Pius X was far more emphatic in his opposition. In addition to condemnation of such separation on principle, Pius, in an encyclical dated May 24, 1911, said: "We, by our apostolic authority, denounce, condemn, and reject the law for the separation of Church and State in the Portugese republic. This law despises God and repudiates the Catholic faith."

It is said that on the sarcophagus or tomb, which contains the remains of Pope Pius X, the following is inscribed: "Defender of Religion—He Repudiated the law of separation of Church and State." Since Pius has been dead but three years, and the inscription was made in the reign of the present pope, Benedict XV, it is a reasonable inference that the faith, as the reigning pope understands it, continues in its hostility toward such separation as a principle of papal policy.

It may be noted that Leo does imply that separation may be "expedient" in the United States; and it

requires no violence to reach the conclusion that the reason for its present expediency here, lies in the fact that if there were now a union of Church and State in this country, some church other than that of Rome would be the one united. We cannot doubt that, were the papists sufficiently numerous in this country, our present constitutional law on the separation of Church and State would have been as fiercely condemned by Leo as the same law in Portugal was denounced by Pius.

Rome desires union of all states with the so-called church of Rome—that particular union and no other: and not for religious purposes, but for the political purposes for which the papacy exists and to which every papal policy conforms. The purpose of that attitude is explained by the words of Pope Leo XIII in which he says: "She (the church of Rome) would bring forth more abundant fruits if, in addition to liberty, she enjoyed the favor of the laws and the patronage of the public authority."

Quite likely. Even as it is, Rome enjoys too much favor of law which is unenforced, and too much patronage from public authorities who are papist or subservient to Romish influence. Too many courts send girls to the pope's so-called Houses of the Good Shepherd to slave for papal profit. Too many truckling state and municipal authorities illegally pay public funds to papal institutions. And, to the extent such violations of the letter and spirit of our law are practiced, the papal system brings "forth more abundant fruits" of a financial character.

Pope Leo XIII told his subjects in this country how to serve their church politically, when he said in one of his encyclicals, widely published in this coun-

try: "Where the church (Roman Catholic) does not forbid taking part in public affairs, it is fit and proper to give support to men of acknowledged worth, and who pledge themselves to deserve well in the Catholic cause."

And his dutiful subjects respond, under the direction of their priests, by so voting as to elect papists to public office wherever they have the votes or influence to emplov that direct method; by delivering their votes to candidates who are willing to reciprocate by supporting Roman Catholic legislation; and by so pulling all the available strings as to secure postmasterships and other remunerative appointments in proportion far exceeding that of the Catholic population.

The scheme works so well that even the president's private secretary, who must have a most intimate knowledge of all governmental affairs, and who necessarily separates the president from the persons and correspondence of the people, is a most dutiful subject of the Italian pope.

The highest officer of the nation's highest tribunal, the Supreme Court of the United States, is also a papist. Chief Justice White has captured that office to hold throughout his lifetime; and, associated with him is another papist, Justice McKenna, similarly fixed and irremovable. Constituting, as they do, nearly one-fourth of the nation's court of last resort, the opinions of these men, and the judgments rendered by them, are necessarily colored by the fact that they recognize in the pope of Rome one who stands in the place of God Almighty on this earth, and one whose opinions concerning moral questions are infallibly correct.

Nor is that the extent of Rome's grip on the American court of courts; for its clerk, who writes its rec-

ords and holds its documents in custody, is also a Roman Catholic. Such is the extent to which papal politics has already entrenched itself at the very top of the executive and judicial branches of the national government.

The legislative branch is not so affected by political Romanism; but, in the sixty-fourth congress there were not less than nine Roman Catholic senators, and sixty or more representatives. How many committee clerks, and other appointive attaches of congress, are of like affiliation, is not precisely known; but too many non-papist senators and congressmen have been induced to employ young papists as secretaries who have been carefully groomed in Catholic institutions for such jobs.

When one considers the excessive number of papists who are ambassadors to foreign countries, consuls, and important heads of bureaus, it becomes plain that resident Roman Catholics have been both willing and successful in obeying their pope's political orders; and that continued indifference concerning papal meddling in American politics must soon result in Romanizing every branch and bureau of government.

Of equal importance are the commercial and financial operations of the great corporation which has its headquarters in Rome, and its agents almost everywhere. Consider the millions upon millions of valuable property owned by that corporation in the United States; and think how all that property escapes taxation. The pretense that it is used for religious or charitable purposes saves, and makes, many a dollar for the papal system.

Largely for financial purposes, the papacy has divided the United States into so-called provinces; and

title to church buildings, parish schools, asylum-clothing-factories, refuge-laundries, and the like, is vested in such local financiers as the archbishops who often incorporate and bond such property, using the proceeds of their bond-sales for no one knows what.

In all the larger American cities are the so-called Houses of the Good Shepherd where gloves, overalls, women's clothing, and like articles are manufactured, and to nearly all of which is attached a laundry which solicits and does work in competition with legitimate laundrymen. Yet, strange to say, they pay neither taxes nor wages; and get their supply of labor from municipal courts whose judges probably "pledge themselves to deserve well in the Catholic cause."

What is this Catholic cause? If it is purely a religious cause, what is the need of its going into politics, and commerce, and finance? Do the real religious societies maintain such an elaborate system of begging, investment, bonding, and manipulation of money? Can't even a blind man see that there is a radical difference between this foreign corporation which calls itself a church, and those churches which confine themselves to religious essentials?

It is all part of the great plan of the papacy to "get back," to regain its once powerful position as the dictator of nations and governments. One way to "make America Catholic" is to come forward honestly and tell the people what they may gain by joining the Roman Catholic church. How little one sees of even an attempt to turn America to Romanism by preaching and exhortation!

In strange contrast to what is usually expected in a religious propaganda is this series of attempts to make America Catholic by political action, by financier-

ing, and by commercial enterprises. And yet, they have been remarkably successful because of general indifference and inability of the many to see the gross materialism of what passes for religion.

When the pope sent his Indulgence peddlers into Germany, they found a Luther; but when the pope's agents send out a horde of beggers to wheedle money from thoughtless Americans, even Christians promote the graft with passive approval if not with donations. Truly, there is much yet to be done before the Reformation becomes a reality, and before the scheming papacy loses its lust for authority and power.

Tolerance is a virtue worth preserving and cultivating; but it is well to remember that the quality of toleration depends upon the quality of the thing tolerated. It is also necessary to discriminate between Roman Catholic religion and Roman Catholic politics. The one may be entitled to gentle consideration; but the other is positively inimical to this country and the essentials of its civilization.

Papal teaching includes a philosophy of life calculated to justify the preposterous pretense of popes and their agents; and, to the extent it exalts the Romish clergy it degrades the self-abased individuals who accept it. Self respect is another virtue worthy of cultivation, but is necessarily stunted and undeveloped in individuals who regard themselves as mere worms of the dust, and arrogant priests as superior beings possessing supernatural power.

All men are created equal, not because they are alike and not because they have identical faculties equally developed; but because the faculties and powers of every human being are infinite. Men are not equal by measure, but are equally unlimited in the range of

what they may learn, do, and be. Men are not equal in what they are, but in what they are becoming. The whole wide ocean of possibility lies before each individual, to navigate, explore, scan, and sound; and all he needs to achieve his destiny is the freedom to act with all the liberty he can use.

But this infinitude of outlook and uplook is of little avail so long as the individual is tethered and forbidden the freedom of his faculties. And so it is that there have always been two conflicting lines of thought —the New Thought looking forward to discovery and the development of new ideals; and the Old Thought that would frighten enquiring minds and make them content with old conditions and old institutions.

The Reformation broke the hold of the Old Thought upon the people, and set them free to make mighty strides forward into unexplored territory. The history of recent centuries reveals the use made of that freedom. Pessimists may find fault with the world of today; and, for that matter, may find many things to criticize throughout the centuries to come: but human progress in the past four centuries, as compared with the four centuries preceding, bears witness to the relative superiority of Protestant civilization and culture over that which it displaced in favored parts of the globe.

Fruits of the two civilizations remain side by side for comparison. Popery lingers in Spain, Austria, Mexico, and South America. Wherever the teachings of the papacy have remained dominant, progress lags and nations are backward; but the New Thought, born of the Reformation, put new vitality into those peoples and nations which availed themselves of its advantages. The evidence of this is so voluminous and clear

that to so much as mention it seems superfluous; but it is inevitable that the plain facts of history must be too much ignored when such a powerful organization as the papacy tells its dupes to close their eyes lest they see something that might do them violence.

Progressive as the American people are, by instinct, by necessity, and by long exercise of unrestrained faculties, it seems hard for them to realize that the Old Thought, championed and represented by the papacy, is today in fierce conflict with the newer thought, represented by religious Protestantism and political democracy. And all this is to the end of "making America Catholic" as it is expressed in the watchword of the pope's Knights of Columbus.

We are in the midst of a war—not a war of cannon and battleships and noise; but a war of ideals. It is a war of wit to determine which thought shall prevail. The comparatively silence of the attack is its strength. There is no sound of drum and trumpet in the assaults launched against the public school, and against that school of the adult population, the free press. All goes forward according to papal plans masked under an outward show of simulated religion. There are no booming cannon, no alarm bells, none of those challenges that awaken and inspire opposition. In their place is the gum-shod Jesuit and his oily diplomacy calculated first of all to disarm suspicion and reassure the restless.

Papal thought and preachment is put forward everywhere with a sugar coating to sweeten its content and make it palatable. Even the moving pictures are utilized to familiarize the masses with pagan rites and idolatrous crucifixes. By one means and another, access to the columns of the press is obtained; and the

people read complacently what they would resent as an insult to intelligence were it not for its association with alleged religion and the growing familiarity that makes folly endurable.

Even the national virtue of sympathy for the oppressed is utilized most cleverly as an entering wedge for what should be repudiated and rejected on sight. Rome poses as a martyr, and bids for American sympathy that is not always wisely bestowed. We are so intent upon giving every alleged religion the freedom it claims that we forget the possibility of an impossible religion.

We do not allow the practice of polygamy in this country, even though it was formerly the religious practice of a certain sect. Public policy condemns many things that were formerly considered religious. American law would not permit the human sacrifices that have been made by religious cults in the savage past. The reasonable requirement of a civilized and progressive people is that even religion should be civil if it is to be tolerated by a civilized people.

The popes agents invade this country claiming that Romanism is identical with Christianity, and insisting upon measuring our civilization with the middle-age standards of the papal system. By their measure our schools are "Godless." By their measure our civil marriage is "legalized concubinage" and of no force and effect. By their survey our whole system is defective and must be made over according to papal plans and specifications. And, if it were made over according to those requirements, those distinctively American institutions, which guarantee personal freedom and the liberty that makes for individual and national growth, would be extirpated root and branch.

If that seems to be too strong a statement of Rome's object and desires, let the candid reader investigate for himself. Don't accept anything of such import on mere hearsay or the word of anybody. The facts embodied in Rome's everyday acts speak louder and more clearly than they can be stated by means of printer's ink.

With the recent revolution in Russia, and abdication of the czar, the pope of Rome remains almost the last of those despots who once numerously claimed the divinely given right to rule mankind. Is America to fall back behind Russia in the majestic march of nations toward the goal of human freedom? Even China has caught step with the modern idea, and has abolished its line of "celestial" rulers. Are we, by choice and consent, to drop out of the procession, and let the Chinaman march by while we linger by the roadside longing like Moses' reactionary Israelites for the fleshpots of Egypt?

If Rome never changes, as its spokesmen proudly assert, that is the best reason in the world for the ever-changing, ever-growing world to repudiate it and all its dead branches. The dead can nourish the living only by disintegration. We have taken out of Rome's Latin language what we need; but Rome clings to the whole Latin lingo. We can utilize whatever may remain useful from the dead past, but Rome insists on reversing the wheels of progress, and on going back to the pit from which progress has lifted us. The two ideals, heretofore fostered by the Romish papacy, and by the American republic, are absolutely opposite and essentially antagonistic. They cannot be adjusted to each other by any compromise. One or the other must become triumphant and with the total repudiation of the

other. Black and white cannot merge and remain black and white; but popery and democracy cannot merge even into gray. They are mutually hostile, exclusive, and impossible one to the other.

This leaves but one rule of action for intelligent Americans to adopt. "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve"—your country, or the pope of Rome. There is no doubt what your choice will be if you can be induced to make it. Luther made his choice; and, by doing so, made an indelible mark in the affairs of mankind. No one ever heard Luther sermonizing like our Washington Gladdens to the effect that there is so much good in popery that it must not be antagonized. It took him some time to reach the conclusion that the papacy was founded by the devil; but when he did there was no temporizing and no apology for the devilish institution.

Choice is imperative, for the dupes of the papacy have already made theirs. It is probable that but few of them realize the full meaning of their allegiance to popery; but they are serving that system nevertheless, and it devolves upon patriotic Americans to neutralize their efforts by a firm stand in defense of all that is imperiled. Taking their pope's advice, as repeated to them more specifically from time to time by the pope's agents, papists vote for public officials "who pledge themselves to deserve well in the Catholic cause." It is therefore needful that patriots should be equally intent upon supporting those only who deserve well because of loyal service to their country.

Before disregarding the many warnings against popery that challenge attention everywhere and continuously, the reader is earnestly requested to study the pronouncements and history of such popes as

Gregory VII, Innocent III, and Boniface VIII, who not only dethroned secular rulers but assumed to release their subjects from the obligation of obedience and loyalty. The attitude of so late a pope as Pius X toward the Republic of Portugal will also aid in removing any possible doubt concerning the popes' desire to extend their authority over all nations and classes.

Do not overlook the pertinent fact that the Council of Trent assumed authority over Protestants as well as over Roman Catholics; and that the papacy has never receded from the position then taken, but is merely awaiting the time when it may safely urge those claims that it would not dare to present in America at this time. All baptized persons, no matter by whom they were baptized, are held by that council to be amenable to Roman Catholic regulations and authority. Whenever it becomes expedient for Rome to coerce Protestants, it may be expected; and the only relief from such an undesirable possibility, is to take advantage of the present possibility to make it impossible.

As ex-Secretary of the Navy, R. W. Thompson, assures us in his well known work, "Footprints of the Jesuits," "the Protestant people of the United States are, therefore, in the papal sense, excommunicated heretics, and their government is heretical because it has separated the State from the Church. Consequently, the Jesuits maintain, by their peculiarly subtle method of reasoning, that both the government and the Protestant people of the United States are within the circle of pontifical jurisdiction, and, therefore, that the pope has the divine right, as the only infallible representative of God, to deal with this country according to his discretion."

No matter how civil your Roman Catholic neigh-

bor may be, he is bound to accept this dogma of his so-called church as an essential part of his religious faith. He may not know it, for there are undoubtedly millions of his kind who know little or nothing of Rome's voluminous history and claims. As a "child of the church" he is not expected to have a reason for his faith, but to accept it as shaped for him by hundreds of scheming popes and their assistants. Blind faith in whatever popery prescribes is one of the virtues on which he prides himself; so, no matter how innocent he may be of conscious participation in such designs, he cannot justly complain if he is included in the resentment they provoke.

Right here in the second decade of the Twentieth Century we find history repeating itself even as it did in the Sixteenth; for the history of man is but the record of an incessant conflict between liberty and authority. There is a special parallel between the present times and those of Luther in the fact that the authority, now as then, is that of the popes and their system.

As each victory for liberty has marked a new step in the world's progress, so the Reformation and its author have left an imperishable mark that may well be followed by patriots and philanthropists of the present time. Philosophical historians note five great distinct, and yet related, struggles for liberty: first, for freedom of thought; second, for freedom of speech; third, for freedom of the press; fourth, for freedom of assembly; and fifth, for freedom of religion.

And, strange to say, we find the so-called church of Rome setting up its alleged authority against all five of these liberties. It seems superfluous to quote all, or even part of what the popes have said in opposition to

each and all of them; for papist periodicals and teachers of the present day reiterate papal hostility toward liberty in every form as a necessary part of their apologies for papal authority. Some papal edicts have already been quoted which bear directly on all of them.

Like all authoritarians, the popes have no confidence in liberty for fear that it may be abused. They assume that people are naturally depraved and that they should be compelled to be good. Nothing is offered to guarantee the goodness of popes and their agents save the claim that they have a divine commission which makes them responsible to supernatural powers only. They assume on their own assertion to be superior and properly privileged persons; an assumption that is but indifferently maintained against the licentious and immoral records of the privileged ones, in the past and in the present.

Priests and papist editors never cease harping on evils of absolute liberty; but, inasmuch as none but an extreme anarchist ever advocates absolute liberty, the agitation of such authoritarians serves only to befuddle listeners and becloud the issue. It is not absolute liberty, but equal liberty, that the libertarians seek—an equal liberty that demands equal rights and denies special privileges. Absolute liberty for me would disregard the liberty of others, and is as impossible as the anarchistic philosophy. However, it is the straw man that popes and priests attack in opposing equality and in upholding their own privileges.

Tracing the inconsistencies and anti-American teachings of popery to their source, they are found at the foundation from which flowed the declaration of Pope Leo XIII that he, and of course the whole line of popes, stand in the place of God Almighty on this

earth. Of all the presumptuous assertions made by mortals, this is the most arrogant, the most blasphemous, the most silly, and the most unbelievable that remains on record.

Language affords no words that fitly characterize one who would make such a claim or one who would concede it. Judgment and common sense have departed from the mind that utters or approves it. And yet, there is purpose and system back of the mountebank who sets up such a claim; for he has caused others to honor it; and, to the number that they do, the claimant makes them his willing and enthusiastic dupes. The low grade of intellect that is required to endorse such a claim, when it is made by a mere mortal, is evident in the Roman Catholic laity; but the daring of the claimant is so great as to almost command admiration.

P. T. Barnum, the great showman, once declared that the American people love to be humbugged. If that were literally true, they should have embraced popery long ago; for its fundamental tenet has no equal among the frauds perpetrated upon the race. Think of a sickly old anaemic Italian possessing the nerve to declare that he stands in the place of God Almighty on this earth; then think of the additional nerve required to write the declaration over his signature; and finally of the surpassing nerve required to publish it.

When you have completed that mental picture of the pope, make another of his dupes who religiously assert their own inferiority, depravity, and lack of the qualities that distinguish mankind from brute creation. Though equipped with a conscience, it must not assert itself lest it come in conflict with ecclesiastical authority. Though gifted with a mind, its every opinion must

be held only at papal pleasure and subject to revision whenever the "infallible" pontiff sets forth what his subjects should think in regard to any question involving morality. The good papist must be submissive, passive, devoid of self assertion, and behave more like a subdued dog than like a human being.

Put these two pictures together, and you have popery, or the Roman Catholic Church, as its bosses see fit to call it. And this is the thing which is not only seeking to invade and conquer this land of freedom, but is actually doing it—doing it with the consent of millions who are not in sympathy with such arrogance and degradation but who think it must be good because it comes disguised in the garb of religion.

Too many intelligent people read of Noah and the flood without learning the lesson their story conveys. Now, as then, there are many who esteem it a mark of wisdom to pooh-pooh the possibility of disaster, and look upon those who prepare against the event with a lofty and disdainful contempt. And there are enough such active apologists for popery to lull millions into indifference or a false feeling of security.

The signs of the times are plain enough to be accurately read by the wayfaring man without any assistance. A few years ago the very people, who now think that the papal monarchy is a harmless and altogether gentle propagator of religion, were prattling about wars being forever at an end; and that the world had finally reached a condition of permanent peace. And such people were probably in the majority—in this country, at least. But, notwithstanding the prevalence of that comfortable imagining, the world is today in the midst of the biggest, and consequently worst, war of all history.

Those who informed themselves concerning world conditions had no such dreams, but pointed out the inevitable clash of nations for years, continuously, before it came. Had the unthinking and wilfully blind been as close observers, so as to realize all involved, they could have settled the issues with brains instead of bullets. Such events do not develop in a moment, in a month, or in a year. They are the culmination of tendencies existing and growing for many years.

The tendencies of popery in the United States are just as evident, and their outcome as inevitable, unless they may be quietly checked by the inoffensive means that now are available. The nature of the thing is clearly revealed in the history of a thousand years. Hideous as that record must be to all who familiarize themselves with it, popery is yet greeted with welcome or with equally helpful indifference.

It comes with sensuous and spectacular pagaentry to bedazzle youth and immature minds. Lest they escape the influence through normal mental development and balance of symmetrical faculties, the public nonsectarian school is attacked with purpose to corrupt it and destroy its wholesome effect upon the rising generation. The school, upon which so much depends, is attacked from a dozen different directions, in fact from every direction that affords the opportunity to do damage.

The school in which generations of Americans have received training and inspiration is denounced as wicked, and as a producer of criminals. The Roman Catholic vote is used to limit the financial means for its support. It is invaded by Roman Catholic teachers who are incompetent to teach the most valuable lessons it might impart, and who take advantage of their

position to inoculate innocent pupils with the virus of Romanism.

So-called parish schools are set up in competition, in which Rome's catechism and the political essentials of popery are drilled into youthful minds to the detriment of fundamental Americanism. Even the motion picture theaters, patronized so largely by the young, are being so thoroughly poisoned with papist plays and features, that it is almost impossible for a thoughtful patriot to attend their performances without being offended. How is it possible for intelligent citizens to come in contact with all these things, and remain indifferent?

Compare Rome's parades, and paraphernalia, and costuming, and candles with the simple but meaningful acts of Christianity's Founder. Compare its Knights of Columbus, their tin swords and plumage, their piffling pomp and glaring garb, with the Galilean fishermen who were the first representatives of genuine Christianity. Compare the spirit of the papal system throughout its existence with the spirit of the Nazarene, and let your own calm uninfluenced judgment decide how much is common to Romanism and Christianity.

It is therefore apparent that, even in the name it affects, the papal system is misleading and inconsistent. The universal or catholic Christian church must be a voluntary association of self-governing Christians. The present use of the word catholic by the pope-ruled sect is an assumption as arrogant and unwarranted as the like claim of its popes to plenipotentiary representation of God Almighty.

Even in its limited area and population, our country is far more catholic than the papalized organiza-

tion; for its organic and statutory law is an adaptation to all peoples without distinction or discrimination in regard to their varying peculiarities. Jew, Christian, and Agnostic utilize American courts for the redress of grievances, and American schools for the education of their youth upon equal terms and with equal satisfaction.

Subjects of the Roman pontiff alone are dissatisfied with the fundamental laws and institutions of the land, and seek to reshape them to meet the requirements of their monarch. Why they do so is plainly apparent in the constitution of the papacy and in its anti-American teaching. And that teaching is what Americans oppose and must continue to oppose, not because it is religious, for it is not, but because it is political and in direct opposition to the essentials of democracy, republicanism, and individual liberty.

The pope of Rome desires that the youth of America be taught what he claims: that he stands in the place of God Almighty on this earth. He desires that the Constitution of the nation and its several states also take approving cognizance of that preposterous claim. He desires that the statutes of federal and state governments be enacted in harmony with the canon law of the papal system.

He desires that everything in this country, which ignores or denies his infallible authority and divine right to temporal as well as spiritual supremacy, shall be considered heretical and extirpated root and branch. The papal dream of a new empire in the western world may seem too ambitious to be possible; but can you conceive of any limit to the desires and plans of a potentate who has already made such a ridiculous claim

in regard to his rights, privileges, and commission to rule from supernatural authority?

Modesty is not the characteristic of a line of autocrats who pretend that Jesus Christ made them supreme in the Kingdom of God on earth, and who stop at no limit to assert their supremacy over rulers, peoples, and nations. The difference between ordinary fakirs and the pope of Rome lies in the tremendous scope of the pope's operations. He and his predecessors have simply gone the limit, claiming everything and conceding nothing.

If the popes are successful in their present designs, they will accomplish the conquest of the earth with greater cleverness than Bonaparte, Alexander, or the Cæsars; and with greater permanence, for they will command the minds of the human race as well as their bodies.

And the United States of America, your country and my country, is one of the prizes played for in this great, greedy, and superlatively ambitious game of popery. The country is to be won by winning its people; and the people are to be won by perverting their ideals and capturing their fancy.

Whether that stupendous goal is ever reached by papal plotting and Jesuit scheming, is doubtful; for we must give human intelligence credit with sufficient self respect to avoid the trap. If Martin Luther, the lowly monk and son of peasant parents, evolved the courage to meet this monster and defeat its oppressive purpose, there must be enough latent intelligence in a free nation of one hundred million individuals to awaken in time and make the New Reformation complete.

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